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YOUTH AND CRIME

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YOUTH AND CRIME

A STUDY OF THE PREVALENCE AND TREATMENT OF DELINQUENCY AMONG BOYS OVER JUVENILE-COURT AGE IN CHICAGO

By
DOROTHY WILLIAMS BURKE

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

U. S. Department of Labor,
Children's Bureau,
Washington, December 11, 1929.

Sir: There is transmitted herewith a report on Youth and Crime: A study of the prevalence and treatment of delinquency among boys over juvenile-court age in Chicago. The report presents statistics on the trend of delinquency of boys of this age from 1915 to 1925 as indicated by reports of the police department, the jail, and the municipal court. Analysis of a selected group of cases dealt with by the boys' court branch of the municipal court, which has jurisdiction over boys 17 to 20 years of age, inclusive, and detailed studies of 82 boys dealt with by this court form the main body of the report. It is hoped that the material will afford a basis for more intelligent planning for the needs of this age group, which for the most part has not been reached by the constructive forces represented by the juvenile court.

Dorothy Williams Burke was director of this study and has written the report under the general supervision of the assistant to the chief, Katharine F. Lenroot. For generous cooperation throughout the inquiry the bureau is indebted to Hon. Harry Olson, chief justice of the Chicago municipal court; Hon. Francis B. Allegretti, who was presiding in the boys' court branch at the time of the study; Miss Mary R. Fugate, social-service secretary of the boys' court; Hon. John W. Houston, adult probation officer; Dr. William J. Hickson, then director of the psychopathic laboratory; and other officials.

Respectfully submitted.

Grace Abbott, *Chief.*

Hon. James J. Davis,
Secretary of Labor.

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YOUTH AND CRIME

GENERAL FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

PURPOSE AND METHOD OF STUDY

Although the press and the popular magazines have had much to say during the last few years, as they had a hundred years ago,[1] about the problem of youthful crime, accurate information has not been available in the United States. Juvenile courts have kept their records so differently that comparison of one city with another as to the amount of juvenile delinquency which comes to the attention of the court has been impossible.[2] Concerning young offenders above juvenile-court age, practically no information even local in character has been compiled. In order to throw some light on the extent of delinquency among young persons, the histories of such offenders, the methods of dealing with them, and the results obtained, the Children's Bureau undertook a study of the cases dealt with by the first court in the United States to concern itself exclusively with young people between juvenile-court age and the age of legal majority—the boys' court branch of the Chicago municipal court, which has jurisdiction over boys 17 to 20 years of age, inclusive. Published statistics covering a period of 11 years, supplemented by annual reports of the jail and the police department, indicated the extent of the delinquency problem among boys of this age and the trend in age distribution and types of offense. The organization and policies of the court were studied, records of the court and social agencies were consulted for a selected number of cases, and more intensive studies of a limited number of boys were made through interviews with the boys, their mothers, and other members of their families. The material for the study was gathered in 1926.

TREND OF YOUTHFUL DELINQENCY IN THE UNITED STATES AS A WHOLE

The amount of crime in a community or in the Nation is difficult to ascertain. Crime statistics are kept variously and inaccurately or are not kept at all. The most reliable figures for the United States as a whole are those for prisoners in penal and reformatory institutions compiled from time to time by the United States Bureau of the Census. In the past these figures have been gathered once every decade either in connection with the population census, as from

[1] See The Habit of Going to the Devil, by Archer Butler Hulbert, in the Atlantic Monthly, vol. 138, No. 6 (December, 1926), p. 804.

[2] For an account of the plan for obtaining uniform juvenile-court statistics, in which a number of juvenile courts throughout the country are cooperating with the United States Children's Bureau, see Sixteenth Annual Report of the Chief of the Children's Bureau, 1928, p. 27.

1850 to 1890, or in special enumerations, as in 1904, 1910, and 1923.[3] An annual census of prisoners in Federal and State prisons and reformatories has been undertaken recently by the Bureau of the Census, and figures covering a few outstanding facts have been collected for 1926 and 1927. As a basis for future inclusion of other classes of offenders in the annual census the Bureau of the Census has published instructions for compiling criminal statistics for use by penal institutions, police departments, courts, prosecutors, and probation agencies.[4] The more detailed decennial investigations will be continued.

Figures published by the Bureau of the Census so far have been based either on prisoners enumerated on a given date or on prisoners committed during the year. Of the value of these figures the bureau states:

> Data as to prison population on a given date are, however, of little value as an index of the occurrence of crime or even of the number of criminals convicted. The size of the prison population is affected not only by the number of convictions, but also by the length of time offenders are imprisoned. * * *
>
> On the other hand, statistics concerning the prisoners committed during a definite period of time afford a much better index of criminality. For while such statistics do not cover all crimes committed, nor indeed all persons convicted of crimes, since many minor offenders are punished by fines only and others are convicted but put on probation, the figures do measure with fair accuracy the number of crimes punished by death or imprisonment within the period covered. Furthermore, any increase or decrease in the number of convictions or in the amount of crime is, in general, followed by a corresponding change in the number of commitments.[5]

The figures for male prisoners 18 years of age and over that are available for the United States, beginning with the year 1880, are summarized in Table 1, which shows the numbers of male prisoners by age period, the per cent distribution, and the ratios for each age group to 100,000 male population of the same ages.

TABLE 1.—*Number of male prisoners 18 years of age and over in the United States of specified age periods, per cent distribution, and ratios to 100,000 male population of the same ages in 1880, 1890, 1904, 1910, and 1923*

Age group	Male prisoners enumerated on a given date								
	June 1, 1880			June 1, 1890			Jan. 1, 1923		
	Number	Per cent distribution	Ratio	Number	Per cent distribution	Ratio	Number	Per cent distribution	Ratio
Total reported 18 years and over	51,500	100.0	357.5	71,375	100.0	381.3	100,657	100.0	296.1
18–20 years	6,114	11.9	388.5	8,539	12.0	453.1	10,872	10.8	404.4
21–24 years	11,480	22.3	564.8	15,155	21.2	602.3	20,337	20.2	552.1
25–34 years	19,389	37.6	503.1	25,720	36.0	502.0	35,677	35.4	411.5
35–44 years	8,464	16.4	305.5	12,545	17.6	338.5	19,711	19.6	267.8
45 years and over	6,053	11.8	145.1	9,416	13.2	171.5	14,060	14.0	121.2

[3] Prisoners, 1923, Crime Conditions in the United States as Reflected in Census Statistics of Imprisoned Offenders, p. 5. U. S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, 1926.

[4] Instructions for Compiling Criminal Statistics. U. S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, 1927.

[5] Prisoners, 1923, p. 4.

TABLE 1.—*Number of male prisoners 18 years of age and over in the United States, etc.*—Continued

Age group	Male prisoners committed during the year								
	1904			1910			1923 [1]		
	Number [2]	Percent distribution	Ratio [3]	Number	Percent distribution	Ratio	Number	Percent distribution	Ratio [4]
Total reported 18 years and over	126,195	100.0	543.9	374,795	100.0	1,265.2	304,579	100.0	895.8
18–20 years	12,577	10.0	572.7	31,287	8.3	1,142.6	27,138	8.9	1,009.3
21–24 years	20,324	16.1	703.5	56,390	15.0	1,532.0	47,226	15.5	1,282.1
25–34 years	38,398	30.4	616.8	116,456	31.1	1,473.9	91,406	30.0	1,054.4
35–44 years	28,533	22.6	585.6	89,842	24.0	1,460.0	75,737	24.9	1,029.0
45 years and over	26,363	20.9	375.5	80,820	21.6	883.3	63,072	20.7	543.8

[1] Estimate based on commitments for 6 months as shown in 1923 census of prisoners.
[2] Exclusive of those committed for nonpayment of fine.
[3] Based on 1900 census.
[4] Based on 1920 census.

Figures showing age distribution are available for prisoners enumerated on a given date only for the years 1880, 1890, and 1923, and figures for prisoners committed during the year for 1904, 1910, and 1923. The 1923 figures, however, are estimates based on figures for the first six months of the year. Differences in types of prisoners included in the census enumeration make it difficult to compare the figures for different years, especially the population ratios. The censuses of 1880 and 1890 included prisoners in military and naval prisons, those in hospitals and asylums for the insane, and also persons awaiting trial, persons held as witnesses, and debtors, all of whom were excluded from later censuses. These groups account for 12 per cent of the total number of prisoners in 1880 and 14 per cent in 1890.

The number of male prisoners 18 years of age and over per 100,000 population of the same sex and age increased from 1880 to 1890 but was lower in 1923, even when allowance is made for difference in inclusion.

The 1904 census omitted prisoners committed for nonpayment of fine, a group which constituted 58 per cent of all prisoners committed in 1910 and 53 per cent of male prisoners committed in 1923. The number of prisoners committed and the ratio per 100,000 population as reported for 1904 would have been at least doubled if such prisoners had been included. The inclusion of such prisoners would probably have given a ratio for the age period 18 to 20 slightly in excess of the 1910 figure. A slight element of difference between the 1910 and 1923 figures is the fact that persons 18 years of age and over committed to institutions for juvenile delinquents were included in 1910 but not in 1923. The number of commitments per 100,000 population in 1923 for each age period was considerably lower than the corresponding ratio for 1910.[6]

[6] In Pennsylvania the number of commitments per 100,000 population in 1924 was 39 per cent less than in 1875. See Spectacular Aspects of Crime in Relation to the Crime Wave, by Ellen C. Potter, in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, May, 1926, p. 3.

Both among prisoners enumerated on a given date and among those committed during a year the proportion in the lower age group appears to have decreased slightly. Thus in 1880, 11.9 per cent of the male prisoners 18 years of age and over were between the ages of 18 and 21 years, as compared with 10.8 per cent in 1923. Among those committed during the year the percentage in the 18 to 20 year group was slightly larger in 1923 (8.9) than in 1910 (8.3) but smaller than in 1904 (10). In general slight decreases are shown also for the 21 to 24 year group.

In all age groups there was not only a relative decrease but an actual decrease in males committed to penal institutions in 1923 as compared with 1910. The number of males 18 to 20 years of age committed in 1923 per 100,000 population of the same sex and age was 11.7 per cent less than in 1910. This decrease, although smaller than those for some of the higher age groups, is nevertheless substantial.

Undoubtedly the growth of the probation system, which has been especially marked since 1910, accounts for part of the decrease in commitments to institutions. Without accurate information concerning arrests and convictions it is impossible to determine definitely the trend in delinquency and crime. Institution commitments, therefore, are only one of the indexes of the extent of crime which should be available. For the period 1910 to 1923 they indicate in all age groups a decreasing number of delinquents and criminals committed to correctional institutions.

TREND OF YOUTHFUL DELINQUENCY IN CHICAGO

Statistics of the boys' court showing the trend of delinquency among boys over juvenile-court age in Chicago are available since its establishment in 1914. In this study the records for 11 years, 1915 to 1925, were canvassed. Statistics of arrest and detention also were obtained for these years from the police department and from the county jail. These latter figures will be presented first and will be followed by the more complete analysis made possible by the boys' court figures.

Conclusions regarding the trend of delinquency and crime are difficult to draw both because of the shortness of the period and because of the World War, which meant the withdrawal of large numbers of adult males from the civilian population and undoubtedly influenced the conduct of young and old. Practically all types of figures show low numerical incidence of crime during the years of active participation in the war. With the exception of boys' court cases, they also all indicate increase in the numerical incidence in the last few years. The ratios of arrests of males to population have also increased in recent years, both for males 21 and over and for males 16 to 20. The increases for adult males follow the year 1920; the increases for boys 16 to 20 postdate the increases for adult males by two years. Ratios of cases disposed of in the municipal court exclusive of the boys' court mounted swiftly after 1920. Prior to that year the tendency was downward. With slight

fluctuations cases of boys 17 to 20 disposed of in the boys' court, on the other hand, show a definite downward trend from 1915 to 1925.[7]

So far as possible the figures here given are confined to males and are classified by age periods. The age classes used by the different branches of the Chicago and Cook County governments are slightly dissimilar, but the figures fall into two general age groups: Adult males and younger males.

Adult males commit the greater proportion of crime and delinquency in Cook County and Chicago, as shown by the annual figures from available sources. Less than 12 per cent of the total arrests of males in any year are arrests of boys 16 to 20 years of age, and only 2 to 6 per cent of the total cases in the municipal court are cases of boys 17 to 20 disposed of in the boys' court.

On the other hand, 16 to 26 per cent of the admissions of males to the Cook County jail were admissions of boys under 21 years of age. The outstanding characteristic of the ratio for admissions to jail for both age periods is variability, which suggests differences in the policy of the court from time to time rather than real differences in the type of crime committed or ability of the individual to provide bond. The figures in regard to jail admissions are of particular importance on account of the bad conditions that have been reported in the Cook County jail.[8]

ARRESTS

The number of arrests, by age and sex, have been obtained from the annual reports of the police department of the city of Chicago for the years 1915 to 1925, inclusive. (Table 2.) During this period the annual number of arrests of both sexes varied from 87,197 to 264,494. In no year prior to 1923 did the total arrests exceed 135,000, but in 1923 the total was 181,980, and 242,602 and 264,494 arrests were reported for 1924 and 1925, respectively.

By far the larger proportion of persons arrested in Chicago, as in other cities, are males. Arrests of males have accounted for 87 to 93 per cent of the total arrests during the period under consideration. The annual number of male arrests has varied from a minimum of 79,730 in 1920 to a maximum of 246,719 in 1925. Conversely the arrests of females have represented from 7 to 13 per cent of the total arrests, and the number has varied from 7,467 in 1920 to 17,775 in 1925.

The great majority of arrests, both of males and of females, are of persons 21 years of age and over. This age group accounts for more than 90 per cent of the arrests of each sex. Practically no persons under 16 are reported arrested, as such persons are subject to the juvenile court and their detention is not recorded as arrest.

The figures of the police department most closely approximating the boys' court jurisdiction are those for males 16 to 20 years of age. Arrests of boys of this age period represent 6 to 12 per cent of the total arrests of males in any one year. The maximum proportions (11.4 and 11.8) are shown in 1918 and 1919. Although the number

[7] Cases of boys under 21 are sometimes disposed of by unspecialized branches of the municipal court, but the great majority of such cases are disposed of by the boys' court.

[8] See The Survey of Cook County Jail made by the Chicago Community Trust in 1922 under the direction of Dr. George W. Kirchwey. A new jail was under construction at the time of the survey and was occupied Feb. 15, 1929.

of arrests in both age periods has increased in recent years there has been a practically constant decline in the percentage of total arrests of males represented by boys 16 to 20 years of age, the minimum (6 per cent) appearing in 1925.

TABLE 2.—*Number of arrests for all offenses for both sexes and males and females of all ages and number and per cent of total arrests in the age period 16 to 20 years, for both sexes and each sex; Chicago, 1915–1925* [1]

Year	Arrests for all offenses								
	Both sexes			Male			Female		
	Total	16–20 years		Total	16–20 years		Total	16–20 years	
		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent
1915	114,625	10,919	9.5	99,954	9,736	9.7	14,671	1,183	8.1
1916	104,535	8,212	7.9	93,255	7,402	7.9	11,280	810	7.2
1917	129,270	10,928	8.5	115,585	9,586	8.3	13,685	1,342	9.8
1918	105,632	11,657	11.0	95,236	10,862	11.4	10,396	795	7.6
1919	91,457	10,636	11.6	82,988	9,829	11.8	8,469	807	9.5
1920	87,197	8,574	9.8	79,730	7,904	9.9	7,467	670	9.0
1921	117,719	9,486	8.1	107,164	8,656	8.1	10,555	830	7.9
1922	132,290	9,027	6.8	120,444	8,210	6.8	11,846	817	6.9
1923	181,980	11,340	6.2	169,614	10,484	6.2	12,366	856	6.9
1924	242,602	15,625	6.4	225,523	14,331	6.4	17,079	1,294	7.6
1925	264,494	16,341	6.2	246,719	14,858	6.0	17,775	1,483	8.3

[1] Compiled from the annual reports of the police department, city of Chicago.

The arrests of females 16 to 20 years of age represent similarly about 8 per cent of the total arrests of females, but the decline in the proportion of total arrests which is evident for boys does not appear in the percentages for girls.

The ratios of arrests for all offenses to 10,000 males of the same age are shown for males 16 to 20, males 21 years of age and over, and males of all ages in Table 3 and the graph on page 8. The ratios generally show declines from 1915 to 1920. Following 1920 increases are evident, the highest ratios (1,362 for boys 16 to 20 and 2,392 for males 21 and over) having occurred in 1925. Low ratios are found for males 21 and over in 1918, 1919, and 1920. In analyzing total arrests in Chicago from 1910 to 1921 Miss Edith Abbott attributes the decline in 1918 in large part to the absence of large numbers of men from civil life on account of the war and the employment of those remaining at high wages, and the decline in 1919 and 1920 to the effects of prohibition.[9] Increases in the ratios for adult males begin abruptly in 1921 and are continuous from then on, but definite increases for boys of 16 to 20 are not shown until 1923. Since 1919 the ratios for boys have been well below those for males of the higher ages. The ratios for males of all ages include boys under 16 in addition to the age groups under discussion. Since boys under 16 are seldom arrested their inclusion in the population base reduces the ratios materially. The curve is practically identical with that for males 21 years of age and over, since the numbers of arrests of boys, amounting to only 6 to 12 per cent of the total, are insufficient to influence its general characteristics.

[9] Abbott, Edith: Recent Statistics Relating to Crime in Chicago. Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, vol. 13, No. 3 (November, 1922), pp. 334, 335.

TABLE 3.—*Number of arrests of males of all ages and specified age periods for all offenses and ratios to 10,000 male population of the same ages; Chicago, 1915–1925* [1]

Year	Males of all ages			Males 16–20 years			Males 21 years and over		
	Population [2]	Arrests		Population [2]	Arrests		Population [2]	Arrests	
		Number	Ratio		Number	Ratio		Number	Ratio
1915	1,249,615	99,954	799.9	89,736	9,736	1,085.0	797,467	90,202	1,131.1
1916	1,276,506	93,255	730.5	91,667	7,402	807.5	814,628	85,838	1,053.7
1917	1,303,195	115,585	886.9	93,583	9,586	1,024.3	831,660	105,978	1,274.3
1918	1,329,883	95,236	716.1	95,500	10,862	1,137.4	848,692	84,349	993.9
1919	1,356,572	82,983	611.7	97,416	9,829	1,009.0	865,723	73,137	844.8
1920	1,383,260	79,730	576.4	99,333	7,904	795.7	882,755	71,800	813.4
1921	1,409,948	107,164	760.1	101,249	8,656	854.9	899,787	98,478	1,094.5
1922	1,436,636	120,444	838.4	103,166	8,210	795.8	916,818	112,217	1,224.0
1923	1,463,856	169,614	1,158.7	105,120	10,484	997.3	934,189	159,121	1,703.3
1924	1,492,066	225,523	1,511.5	107,146	14,331	1,337.5	952,192	211,159	2,217.6
1925	1,518,754	246,719	1,624.5	109,063	14,858	1,362.3	969,223	231,833	2,391.9

[1] Compiled from annual reports of police department, city of Chicago.
[2] Estimates as of July 1, supplied by U. S. Bureau of the Census.

It is evident then that total numbers of arrests for both males and females of all ages and specified age groups have increased in the past few years; that the arrests of males 16 to 20 years of age represent only a small proportion of the total arrests of males and that since 1922 these percentages have been well below the pre-war proportions; and that while the ratios of arrests of males to population of same age and sex have increased generally in recent years the ratios for arrests of boys began to increase two years later than the ratios of arrests for males of 21 years of age and over. It is obvious that the great increases in the numbers of arrests in Chicago during these years have been essentially among males of the older ages.

Statistics of arrest are not entirely reliable indexes of the amount of crime in a community. Such statistics not only are kept inaccurately but are influenced by other factors than the number of offenses committed. Thus an increase in arrests may be due to the increased efficiency of the police in making arrests or to the use of the "dragnet" system in which wholesale arrests are made without adequate evidence of guilt.[10]

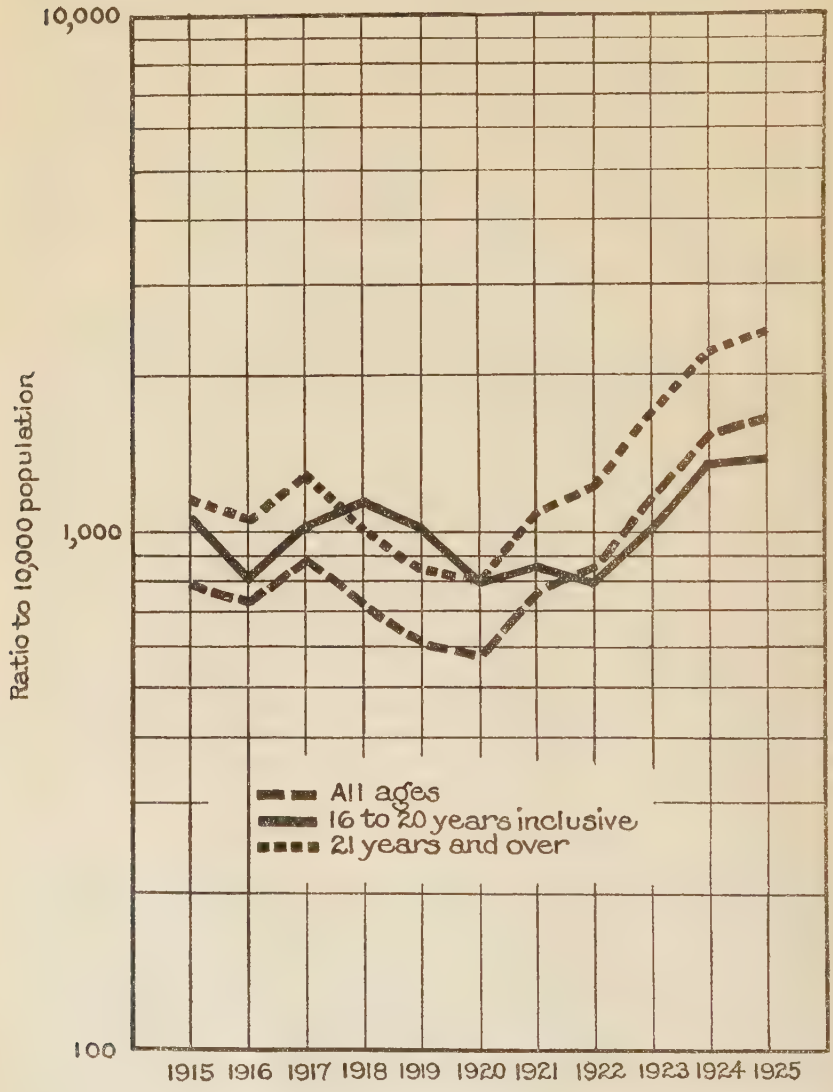
ADMISSIONS TO COOK COUNTY JAIL

The Cook County jail is used principally as a place of detention for persons awaiting trial after preliminary hearing. Boys who are kept in custody before arraignment in court are held in police stations, for which no statistics are available. After arraignment, if the case is continued or if the boy is held for the grand jury on a felony charge, he is either released on bond or committed to the county jail. The numbers received in the jail would be valuable indexes of the amount of delinquency and crime in the community if a constant policy in regard to release on bond were maintained. There is no certainty, however, that a single policy has prevailed in Cook County during the period under consideration.

[10] Abbott, Edith: Recent Statistics Relating to Crime in Chicago. Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, vol. 13, No. 3 (November, 1922), pp. 333, 334.

Statistics of admissions to the Cook County jail during the period 1915 to 1925 obtained from the superintendent of the jail are shown in Table 4 and the graph on page 10. More than 90 per cent of the persons received in the jail were males. The total number of males

RATIO OF ARRESTS OF MALES OF ALL AGES AND OF SPECIFIED AGE PERIODS FOR ALL OFFENSES TO 10,000 MALE POPULATION OF THE SAME AGES: CHICAGO, 1915-1925



admitted each year varied between 8,078 in 1919 and 12,135 in 1925. Males 21 years of age and over constituted 74 to 84 per cent of the males received each year, and males under 21 constituted 16 to 26 per cent of the total male admissions.

The ratios of admissions to population for males under 21 are well below those for males of all ages and males 21 and over. The form of the curve for males of all ages (see graph, p. 10) is similar to that for males 21 and over, as these admissions make up the bulk of the total. The curve for males under 21 suggests an upward trend throughout the period, and the curves for males 21 and over and males of all ages suggest increases since 1920. The irregularity of the curves seems to reflect frequent changes in the policy of the court toward release on bond rather than any definite trend of crime or delinquency.

TABLE 4.—*Number of males of all ages and specified age periods received in the Cook County jail, and ratios to 10,000 male population of the same ages; Cook County, 1915–1925* [1]

Year	Males, all ages			Males under 21 years			Males 21 years and over		
	Population [2]	Received in jail		Population [2]	Received in jail		Population [2]	Received in jail	
		Number [3]	Ratio		Number [3]	Ratio		Number [3]	Ratio
1915	1,404,913	8,944	63.7	512,095	1,447	28.3	892,818	7,497	84.0
1916	1,436,597	8,290	57.7	524,508	1,529	29.2	912,089	6,750	74.0
1917	1,468,281	10,359	70.6	536,921	1,873	34.9	931,360	8,484	91.1
1918	1,499,965	8,674	57.8	549,334	1,666	30.3	950,631	7,005	73.7
1919	1,531,650	8,078	52.7	561,746	2,111	37.6	969,904	5,965	61.5
1920	1,563,335	8,335	53.3	574,159	2,036	35.5	989,176	6,295	63.6
1921	1,595,019	10,164	63.7	586,572	2,145	36.6	1,008,447	8,019	79.5
1922	1,626,703	9,389	57.7	598,985	1,751	29.2	1,027,718	7,638	74.3
1923	1,658,387	9,632	58.1	611,397	1,786	29.2	1,046,990	7,846	74.9
1924	1,690,071	10,651	63.0	623,810	2,657	42.6	1,066,261	7,994	75.0
1925	1,721,755	12,135	70.5	636,223	2,503	39.3	1,085,532	9,632	88.7

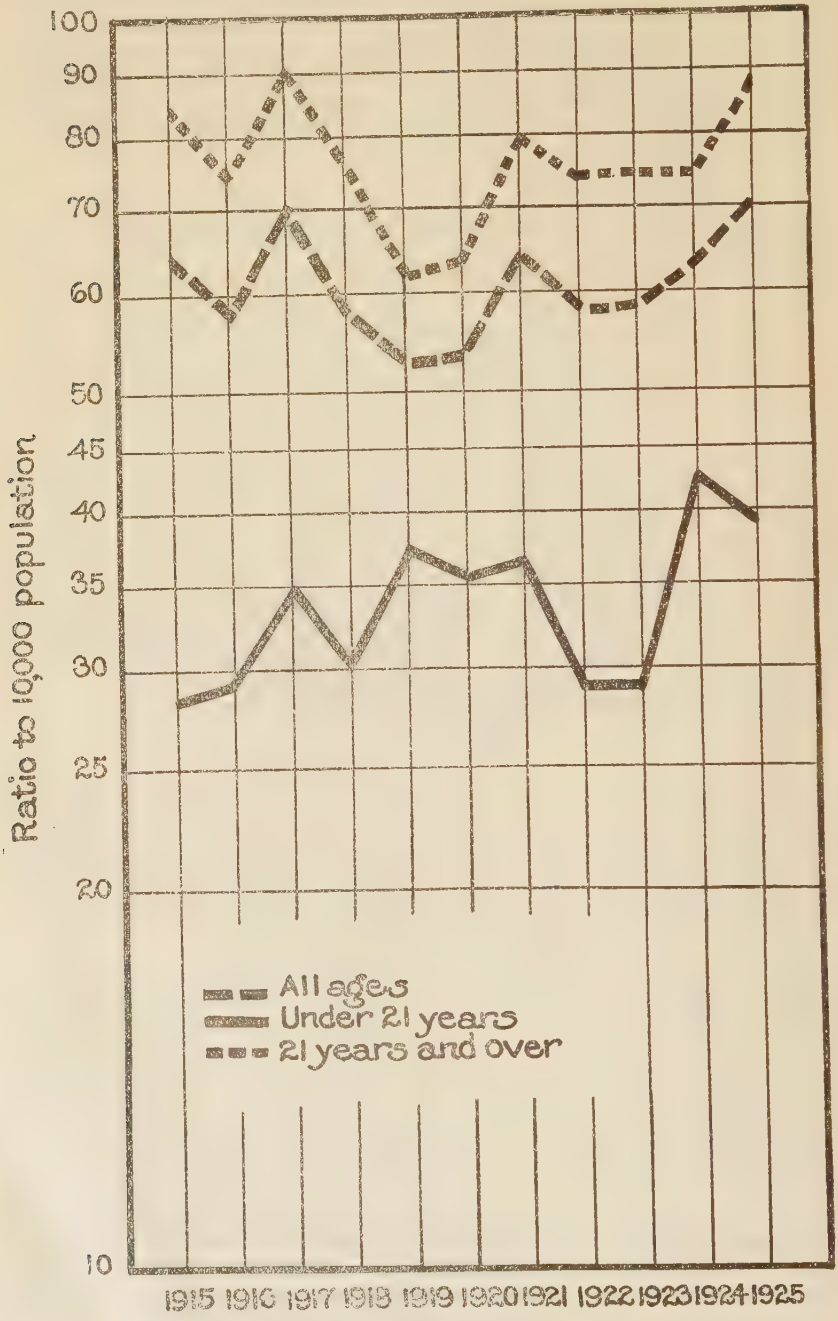
[1] Compiled from unpublished figures supplied by the superintendent of Cook County jail.
[2] Estimates as of July 1 supplied by the U. S. Bureau of the Census.
[3] Includes males for whom age was not reported.

BOYS' COURT CASES

Information concerning cases of delinquency and crime disposed of in all criminal branches of the municipal court and in the boys' court (the branch of the municipal court having jurisdiction over boys 17 to 20 years of age) has been obtained from annual reports and unpublished figures supplied by the municipal court for the years 1915 to 1925. (Table 5.)

From 2 to 8 per cent of the total municipal-court cases were disposed of each year in the boys' court, the annual number of boys' court cases varying between 6,583 and 9,297 during the period under consideration. Cases of boys 17 to 20 years of age constituted 6.3 per cent (in 1919) to 1.7 per cent (in 1925) of the total number of municipal-court cases and 92.8 per cent (in 1917) to 64.8 per cent (in 1924) of the total number of cases in the boys' court. In 1925 they represented 71.3 per cent of all the cases in the boys' court. The other cases in the boys' court are those in which older persons or girls above juvenile-court age are involved in cases of boys 17 to 20, and some cases of boys just over 21 as well as cases of boys under 17 brought to the court by mistake. Cases of boys of the ages specified are sometimes disposed of in the unspecialized branches of the municipal court, and thus are included in the figures for adult cases.

RATIO OF MALES OF ALL AGES AND OF SPECIFIED AGE PERIODS RECEIVED IN THE COOK COUNTY JAIL TO 10,000 MALE POPULATION OF THE SAME AGES: COOK COUNTY, 1915-1925



The number of cases disposed of annually in the criminal branches of the municipal court, including the specialized courts, varied from 103,150 in 1920 to 317,352 in 1925. Before 1923 the annual number of cases disposed of in the municipal court was well below 200,000, but the 1923 figure was 219,705. The total for 1924 exceeded this by 60,000, and the total number of cases in 1925 was almost 98,000 in excess of the 1923 total. This means an increase of 208 per cent in 1925 over the minimum of 1920.

TABLE 5.—*Number of cases disposed of in all criminal branches of the municipal court, number disposed of in boys' court, number of cases of boys 17 to 20 years of age disposed of in boys' court, and percentage of cases in each court that were cases of boys 17 to 20 years of age; Chicago, 1915–1925* [1]

Year	Number of cases disposed of in all criminal branches of municipal court [2]	Number of cases disposed of in boys' court [3]	Cases of boys 17 to 20 years disposed of in boys' court		
			Number	Per cent of total cases disposed of in municipal court	Per cent of total cases disposed of in boys' court
1915	130,971	8,700	7,500	5.7	86.2
1916	123,873	6,583	6,081	4.9	92.4
1917	149,268	7,738	7,183	4.8	92.8
1918	124,397	7,697	6,943	5.6	90.2
1919	111,276	9,297	6,976	6.3	75.0
1920	103,150	7,698	5,764	5.6	74.9
1921	162,190	8,553	6,940	4.3	81.1
1922	184,362	8,486	6,818	3.7	80.3
1923	219,705	6,927	6,103	2.8	88.1
1924	279,960	8,884	5,760	2.1	64.8
1925	317,352	7,591	5,409	1.7	71.3

[1] Compiled from the annual reports of the municipal court of Chicago, 1915–1924, and unpublished figures for 1925 supplied by the court.
[2] The number of cases disposed of in 1926 was 324,444, and in 1927, 296,082.
[3] The number of cases disposed of in 1926 was 5,970, and in 1927, 6,920.

Cases of delinquency of boys 17 to 20 decreased numerically from 7,500 (the maximum) in 1915 to 5,409 (the minimum) in 1925. The percentage that cases of boys 17 to 20 constituted of all cases disposed of in the municipal court shows a definite downward trend throughout the period under consideration except during 1918, 1919, and 1920, when unusual factors entered into the situation (see p. 6).

The annual ratios of cases of boys 17 to 20 to 10,000 males of these ages and the annual ratios of cases disposed of in the municipal court, exclusive of the boys' court, to 10,000 persons (males 21 years of age and over and females 18 years of age and over) are shown in Table 6. (See also graph p. 13.)

A downward trend is evident for cases of boys 17 to 20 throughout the period under consideration. The maximum ratio (1,053.3) appears in 1915, the minimum (625) in 1925, and the total decrease during the 11-year period amounts to roughly 41 per cent. In the ratios for cases disposed of in the municipal court exclusive of boys' court cases the minimum ratio (534) appears in 1920 and the maximum (1,578.4) in 1925. The 1921 ratio exceeded the 1920 by 58 per cent, and the ratios each year following 1921 show percentage increases over the preceding year amounting to 12 to 25 per cent. The ratio of 1925 was 196 per cent in excess of that for 1920.

Thus cases of boys 17 to 20, on the whole, have decreased in numbers and in their ratio to population of the same age and sex. On the other hand, the total cases in the municipal court have greatly

increased, and the ratio of cases in the municipal court, exclusive of cases in the boys' court, has almost trebled since 1920.

TABLE 6.—*Number of cases* [1] *disposed of in the criminal branches of the municipal court (exclusive of boys' court) and ratio of cases to 10,000 male population 21 years and over and female population 18 years and over; and number of cases* [1] *of boys 17 to 20 years disposed of in the boys' court, and ratio of cases to 10,000 male population of the same age period; Chicago, 1915–1925*

Year	Male population 21 years and over and female population 18 years and over [2]	Cases disposed of in criminal branches of municipal court (exclusive of boys' court)		Male population 17 to 20 years [2]	Cases of boys 17 to 20 years disposed of in boys' court	
		Number	Ratio		Number	Ratio
1915	1,614,679	122,271	757.2	71,203	7,500	1,053.3
1916	1,649,427	117,290	711.1	72,735	6,081	836.0
1917	1,683,912	141,530	840.5	74,256	7,183	967.3
1918	1,718,397	116,700	679.1	75,777	6,943	916.2
1919	1,752,882	101,979	581.8	77,297	6,976	902.5
1920	1,787,367	95,452	534.0	78,818	5,764	731.3
1921	1,821,852	153,637	843.3	80,339	6,940	863.8
1922	1,856,337	175,876	947.4	81,859	6,818	832.9
1923	1,891,509	212,778	1,124.9	83,410	6,103	731.7
1924	1,927,960	271,076	1,406.0	85,018	5,760	677.5
1925	1,962,444	309,761	1,578.4	86,538	5,409	625.0

[1] Compiled from annual reports of municipal court of Chicago, 1915–1924, and unpublished figures for 1925 supplied by the court.
[2] Estimates as of July 1 supplied by U. S. Bureau of the Census.

Offenses charged.

Under the Illinois law a felony is an offense punishable by death or by imprisonment in the penitentiary. Other violations of State laws are misdemeanors.[11] Cases brought under city and park ordinances are called quasi-criminal offenses.[12] In the 11 years 1915 to 1925 more than half the cases disposed of by the boys' court were quasi-criminal cases, one-fourth were felonies, and not quite one-fifth were misdemeanors. The greatest divergence from this average was in 1925, when the number of felonies nearly equaled the number of quasi-criminal offenses and formed 36.4 per cent of the total. In 1920 also the proportion of felonies was high (34.5 per cent of all cases). In the years following 1920 the percentage of felonies declined, being exceptionally low in 1923 and 1924. Since 1924 the proportion of felonies has increased. How much of this increase is due to a real change in the crime situation and how much to a change in method of dealing with it can not be determined.[13]

The smallest percentage of quasi-criminal offenses in the history of the court (39.7) occurred in 1925, and the largest percentage (62.7) in 1915, the first full year of the court's operation. The percentage of misdemeanors varied from 13 in 1919 to 23.9 in 1925. (Table 7.)

[11] Ill. Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's), 1927, ch. 38, secs. 585, 586.
[12] This term is used also for illegitimacy cases which are dealt with in the delinquency branch of the municipal court.
[13] The 1926 figures show a smaller number but an even larger proportion of felony charges. Of the 5,970 cases reported, 39.6 per cent were felonies, 33.1 per cent were misdemeanors, and only 27.3 per cent were quasi-criminal offenses. In 1927 the total number of cases was 6,920, of which 51 per cent were felonies, 29.3 per cent were misdemeanors, and 19.5 per cent were quasi-criminal charges. (Figures furnished by the office of the clerk of the municipal court.) It is possible that as a result of the recent emphasis on severe treatment fewer felony charges have been reduced to lesser charges in the last three years than was the practice in former years. The great decrease in quasi-criminal charges may have been due not only to this policy but also to a change in practice in regard to the filing of charges. The practice of the judges with reference to arraignment varies, some judges ordering charges filed in all cases and others in some cases directing that no charges be filed.

RATIO OF CASES DISPOSED OF IN CRIMINAL BRANCHES OF MUNICIPAL COURT (EXCLUSIVE OF BOYS' COURT) TO 10,000 MALE POPULATION 21 YEARS AND OVER AND TO FEMALE POPULATION 18 YEARS AND OVER, AND RATIO OF CASES OF BOYS 17 TO 20 YEARS, INCLUSIVE, DISPOSED OF IN BOYS' COURT TO 10,000 MALE POPULATION OF THE SAME AGES; CHICAGO, 1915-1925

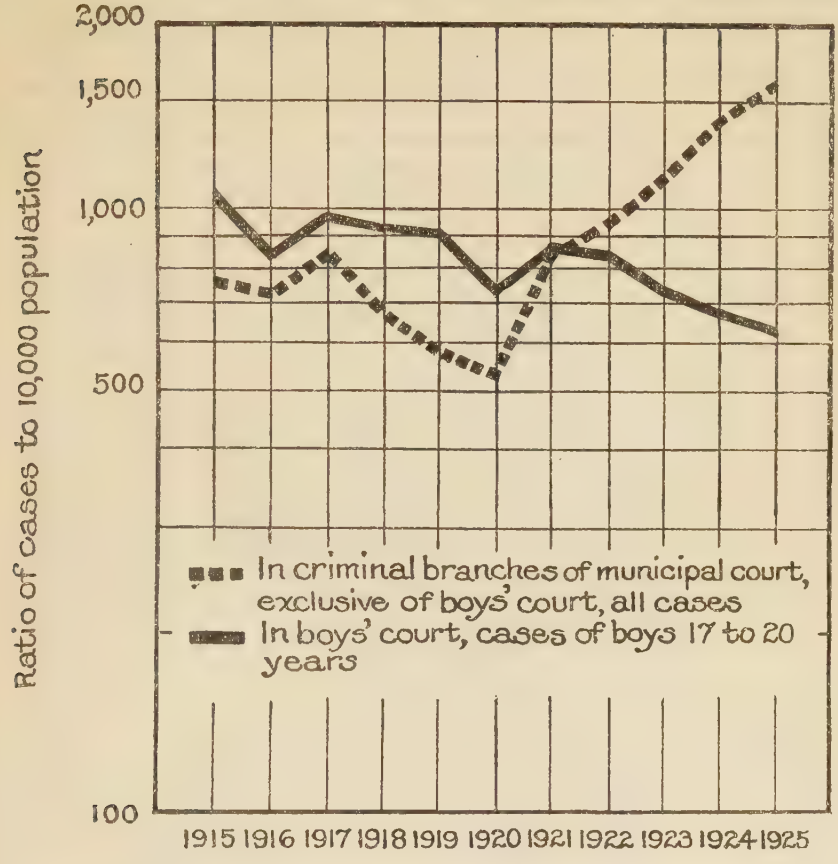


TABLE 7.—*Type of offense in cases disposed of in boys' court, 1915–1925*[1]

Year	Total	Cases disposed of in boys' court					
		Felonies		Misdemeanors		Quasi-criminal offenses	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
1915	8,700	1,782	20.5	1,465	16.8	5,453	62.7
1916	6,583	1,475	22.4	1,390	21.1	3,718	56.5
1917	7,738	2,005	25.9	1,607	20.8	4,126	53.3
1918	7,697	1,907	24.8	1,396	18.1	4,394	57.1
1919	9,297	2,800	30.1	1,206	13.0	5,291	56.9
1920	7,698	2,652	34.5	1,152	15.0	3,894	50.6
1921	8,553	2,383	27.9	1,506	17.6	4,664	54.5
1922	8,485	2,187	25.8	1,475	17.4	4,824	56.8
1923	6,927	1,300	18.8	1,598	23.1	4,029	58.2
1924	8,884	1,952	22.0	1,964	22.1	4,968	55.9
1925	7,591	2,764	36.4	1,815	23.9	3,012	39.7

[1] Compiled from annual reports of the municipal court of Chicago, 1915–1924, and unpublished figures for 1925 supplied by court.

Analysis of charges during the 11 years under consideration shows no significant increase in any one class, maintained over a period of years. Offenses against public health and safety of the grade of misdemeanor, under which are included violations of automobile and traffic regulations, were practically unknown before 1920. (Table 8.)

TABLE 8.—*Class of charge, by type of offense, in cases disposed of in boys' court, 1915–1925* [1]

Year and type of offense	Cases disposed of in boys' court															
	Total	Charge														
		Crimes of violence and injuries to persons		Offenses against property		Sex offense		Disorderly conduct and vagrancy		Violating prohibition and gambling laws		Offenses against public health and safety		Other	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total:															
1915	8,700	715	8.2	2,134	24.5	91	1.0	4,216	48.5	287	3.3	921	10.6	336	3.9
1916	6,583	667	10.1	1,771	26.9	60	.9	2,744	41.7	278	4.2	692	10.5	371	5.6
1917	7,738	763	9.9	2,301	29.7	264	3.4	3,176	41.0	231	3.0	538	7.0	465	6.0
1918	7,697	782	10.2	2,065	26.8	45	.6	3,347	43.5	370	4.8	712	9.3	376	4.9
1919	9,297	1,059	11.4	2,533	27.2	148	1.6	3,878	40.7	615	6.6	721	7.8	343	3.7
1920	7,698	895	11.6	2,421	31.4	96	1.2	2,921	37.9	546	7.1	512	6.7	307	4.0
1921	8,553	790	9.2	2,423	28.3	149	1.7	3,999	46.8	265	3.1	799	9.3	128	1.5
1922	8,486	904	10.7	2,151	25.3	167	2.0	4,262	50.2	307	3.6	607	7.2	88	1.0
1923	6,927	528	7.6	1,715	24.8	175	2.5	3,660	52.8	195	2.8	575	8.3	79	1.1
1924	8,884	762	8.6	2,328	26.2	312	3.5	4,481	50.4	252	2.8	544	6.1	205	2.3
1925	7,591	1,102	14.5	2,698	35.5	303	4.0	2,712	35.7	157	2.1	446	5.9	173	2.3
Felony:															
1915	1,782	551	30.9	1,116	62.6	58	3.3							57	3.2
1916	1,475	450	30.5	904	61.3	31	2.1							90	6.1
1917	2,005	590	29.4	1,264	63.0	56	2.8							95	4.7
1918	1,907	620	32.5	1,158	60.7	23	1.2							106	5.6
1919	2,800	934	33.4	1,708	61.0	49	1.8							109	3.9
1920	2,652	808	30.5	1,718	64.8	56	2.1							70	2.6
1921	2,383	645	27.1	1,642	68.9	47	2.0							49	2.1
1922	2,187	759	34.7	1,337	61.1	53	2.4							38	1.7
1923	1,300	379	29.2	829	63.8	63	4.8							29	2.2
1924	1,952	554	28.4	1,270	65.1	81	4.1							47	2.4
1925	2,764	919	33.2	1,677	60.7	98	3.5							70	2.5
Misdemeanor:															
1915	1,465	164	11.2	1,018	69.5	4	.3	30	2.0			1	.1	248	16.9
1916	1,390	217	15.6	867	62.4	11	.8	14	1.0					281	20.2
1917	1,607	173	10.8	1,037	64.5	22	1.4	5	.3					370	23.0
1918	1,396	162	11.6	907	65.0	14	1.0	39	2.8			4	.3	270	19.3
1919	1,206	125	10.4	825	68.4	10	.8	5	.4	1	.1	6	.5	234	19.4
1920	1,152	87	7.6	703	61.0	10	.9	4	.3			111	9.6	237	20.6
1921	1,506	145	9.6	781	51.9	20	1.3	1	.1	206	13.7	274	18.2	79	3.2
1922	1,475	145	9.8	814	55.2	33	2.2			172	11.7	267	18.1	44	3.0
1923	1,598	149	9.3	886	55.4	64	4.0	1	.1	131	8.2	319	20.0	48	3.0
1924	1,964	208	10.6	1,058	53.9	58	3.0	4	.2	159	8.1	334	17.0	143	7.3
1925	1,815	183	10.1	1,021	56.3	112	6.2	3	.2	129	7.1	274	15.1	93	5.1
Quasi-criminal:															
1915	5,453					29	.5	4,186	76.8	287	5.3	920	16.9	31	.6
1916	3,718					18	.5	2,730	73.4	278	7.5	692	18.6		
1917	4,126					186	4.5	3,171	76.9	231	5.6	538	13.0		
1918	4,394					8	.2	3,308	75.3	370	8.4	708	16.1		
1919	5,291					89	1.7	3,873	73.2	614	11.6	715	13.5		
1920	3,894					30	.8	2,917	74.9	546	14.0	401	10.3		
1921	4,664					82	1.8	3,998	85.7	59	1.3	525	11.3		
1922	4,824					81	1.7	4,262	88.3	135	2.8	340	7.0	6	.1
1923	4,029					48	1.2	3,659	90.8	64	1.6	256	6.4	2	(2)
1924	4,968					173	3.5	4,477	90.1	93	1.9	210	4.2	15	.3
1925	3,012					93	3.1	2,709	89.9	28	.9	172	5.7	10	.3

[1] Compiled from annual reports of the municipal court of Chicago, 1915–1924, and unpublished figures for 1925 supplied by court.

[2] Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

Probably in the latter part of the period offenses of this nature have been dealt with as misdemeanors, under State law, which earlier were dealt with as ordinance violations. However, the total number of offenses of this class (both misdemeanors and quasi-criminal offenses) decreased markedly in the 11 years—from 921 in 1915 to 446 in 1925. Many boys under 21 years of age may have been dealt with in the automobile branch of the municipal court without inquiry regarding age. Violations of prohibition and gambling laws, including both misdemeanors and quasi-criminal offenses, decreased from 287 in 1915 to 157 in 1925.[14] It may have been that many persons who had violated these laws were charged with less definite offenses, such as disorderly conduct, which formed a somewhat larger percentage of the total from 1921 to 1924 than in earlier years. Crimes of violence and injuries to persons, and offenses against property, were more numerous in 1925 than in any other year, but there is no indication of a gradual increase in preceding years. The percentage of sex offenses and crimes increased slightly in 1925, though the number of these cases was highest in 1924; the lowest percentage of these offenses was 0.6 in 1918, and the highest 4 in 1925. (Table 8.) The percentage of robberies, which are included in crimes of violence, fluctuated from year to year, except for slightly higher percentages in 1919, 1920, and 1925. (Table 9.) The percentage of burglaries showed little significant change during the period, but larceny charges increased somewhat in 1925.[15]

TABLE 9.—*Specific charge in cases disposed of in boys' court, 1915–1925* [a]

Year	Cases disposed of in boys' court															
	Total	Specific charge														
		Robbery		Burglary		Larceny		Violating liquor laws		Violating automobile regulations		Disorderly conduct		All other		
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
1915	8,700	506	5.8	627	7.2	1,226	14.1	------	------	1	(b)	4,121	47.4	2,219	25.5	
1916	6,583	425	6.5	414	6.3	1,107	16.8	------	------	------	------	2,716	41.3	1,921	29.2	
1917	7,738	549	7.1	548	7.1	1,416	18.3	------	------	------	------	3,171	41.0	2,054	26.5	
1918	7,697	582	7.6	568	7.4	1,200	15.6	------	------	4	0.1	3,296	42.8	2,047	26.6	
1919	9,297	855	9.2	798	8.6	1,362	14.6	------	------	6	.1	3,855	41.5	2,421	26.0	
1920	7,698	774	10.1	708	9.2	1,275	16.6	------	------	111	1.4	2,849	37.0	1,981	25.7	
1921	8,553	609	7.1	739	8.6	1,215	14.2	3	(b)	157	1.8	3,943	46.1	1,887	22.1	
1922	8,486	707	8.3	659	7.8	1,123	13.2	53	0.6	142	1.7	4,231	49.9	1,571	18.5	
1923	6,927	336	4.9	334	4.8	1,061	15.3	66	1.0	265	3.8	3,654	52.8	1,211	17.5	
1924	8,884	518	5.8	491	5.5	1,519	17.1	133	1.5	241	2.7	4,459	50.2	1,523	17.1	
1925	7,591	867	11.4	577	7.6	1,710	22.5	109	1.4	195	2.6	2,707	35.7	1,426	18.8	

[a] Compiled from annual reports of the municipal court of Chicago, 1915–1924, and unpublished figures for 1925 supplied by court.

[b] Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

[14] Compare The Courts and the Prevention of Delinquency in Annual Report and Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Conference of the National Probation Association, 1926, p. 9 (New York, 1926), in which increase in misdemeanors and lesser offenses is ascribed to such new crimes as automobile-traffic violations and offenses against the prohibition law.

[15] Robberies and burglaries formed in 1926 about the proportion noted in 1925, but the proportion of larceny charges increased. In 1926 robberies constituted 11.1 per cent of the 5,979 cases reported, burglaries constituted 7.6 per cent, and larceny charges 30.4 per cent. (Figures furnished by office of the clerk of the municipal court.)

Dispositions made.

The large number of cases disposed of on severe charges in 1925 was accompanied by an unusually small number of discharges and by more severe treatment as evidenced by a larger proportion of convictions [16] than in preceding years, a large number of cases held for the criminal court, and an increase in commitments to institutions. The other years when felonies formed an unusually large percentage of the offenses, 1919 and 1920, also showed more cases held for the grand jury. (Table 10.) Both the proportion of serious charges and the dispositions would be affected by the policy of the judges regarding the filing of complaints. (See footnote 13, p. 12.) The number of serious charges would be relatively great and the discharges relatively few under a judge who refused leave to file complaints that appeared to be unjustified, whereas the proportion of serious charges would diminish and the discharges would increase under a judge who allowed all complaints to be filed.

TABLE 10.—*Disposition in boys' court, by type of offense, of cases disposed of, 1915–1925* [a]

Year and type of offense	Cases dealt with in boys' court																	
	Total	Disposition in boys' court																
		Discharged		Dismissed for want of prosecution		Nolprossed		Nonsuit		Held for grand jury		Placed on probation		Fined		Committed to institution		
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
Total:																		
1915	8,700	5,580	64.1	730	8.4	43	0.5	162	1.9	901	10.4	----	----	523	6.0	761	8.7	
1916	6,583	3,526	53.6	668	10.1	52	.8	34	.5	576	8.7	712	10.8	419	6.4	596	9.1	
1917	7,738	3,587	46.4	1,124	14.5	60	.8	12	.2	1,058	13.7	590	7.6	649	8.4	658	8.5	
1918	7,697	4,554	59.2	614	8.0	23	.3	7	.1	1,141	14.8	409	5.3	378	4.9	571	7.4	
1919	9,297	5,100	54.9	432	4.6	52	.6	3	(b)	1,764	19.0	814	8.8	579	6.2	553	5.9	
1920	7,698	3,727	48.4	671	8.7	188	2.4	8	.1	1,477	19.2	655	8.5	513	6.7	459	6.0	
1921	8,553	4,681	54.7	582	6.8	108	1.3	4	(b)	1,444	16.9	414	4.8	620	7.2	700	8.2	
1922	8,486	4,735	55.8	851	10.0	62	.7	91	1.1	1,189	14.0	469	5.5	560	6.6	529	6.2	
1923	6,927	4,091	59.1	762	11.0	43	.6	27	.4	426	6.1	594	8.6	338	4.9	646	9.3	
1924	8,884	5,467	61.5	790	8.9	15	.2	6	.1	919	10.3	695	7.8	222	2.5	770	8.7	
1925	7,591	2,579	34.0	1,192	15.7	40	.5	4	.1	1,492	19.7	778	10.2	505	6.7	1,001	13.2	
Felony:																		
1915	1,782	452	25.4	395	22.2	34	1.9	----	----	901	50.6	----	----	----	----	----	----	
1916	1,475	640	43.4	216	14.6	43	2.9	----	----	576	39.1	----	----	----	----	----	----	
1917	2,005	308	15.4	594	29.6	45	2.2	----	----	1,058	52.8	----	----	----	----	----	----	
1918	1,907	373	19.6	372	19.5	21	1.1	----	----	1,141	59.8	----	----	----	----	----	----	
1919	2,800	712	25.4	279	10.0	45	1.6	----	----	1,764	63.0	----	----	----	----	----	----	
1920	2,652	601	22.7	392	14.8	182	6.9	----	----	1,477	55.7	----	----	----	----	----	----	
1921	2,383	461	19.3	381	16.0	97	4.1	----	----	1,444	60.6	----	----	----	----	----	----	
1922	2,187	374	17.1	566	25.9	58	2.7	----	----	1,189	54.4	----	----	----	----	----	----	
1923	1,300	257	19.8	579	44.5	38	2.9	----	----	426	32.8	----	----	----	----	----	----	
1924	1,952	499	25.6	522	26.7	12	.6	----	----	919	47.1	----	----	----	----	----	----	
1925	2,764	410	14.8	844	30.5	18	.7	----	----	1,492	54.0	----	----	----	----	----	----	
Misdemeanor:																		
1915	1,465	868	59.2	127	8.7	9	.6	----	----	----	----	----	----	30	2.0	431	29.4	
1916	1,390	384	27.6	131	9.4	9	.6	----	----	----	----	495	35.6	41	2.9	330	23.7	
1917	1,607	496	30.9	253	15.7	15	.9	----	----	----	----	452	28.1	52	3.2	339	21.1	
1918	1,396	547	39.1	127	9.1	2	.1	----	----	----	----	332	23.8	58	4.2	330	23.6	
1919	1,206	449	37.2	60	5.0	7	.6	----	----	----	----	387	32.1	50	4.1	253	21.0	

[a] Compiled from annual reports of the municipal court of Chicago, 1915-1924, and unpublished figures for 1925 supplied by court.

[b] Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

[16] Including cases placed on probation, fined, and committed to institutions.

TABLE 10.—*Disposition in boys' court, by type of offense, of cases disposed of, 1915–1925*—Continued

Year and type of offense	Cases dealt with in boys' court																	
		Disposition in boys' court																
		Discharged		Dismissed for want of prosecution		Nol-prossed		Nonsuit		Held for grand jury		Placed on probation		Fined		Committed to institution		
	Total	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
Misdemeanor—Continued.																		
1920	1,152	285	24.7	99	8.6	6	.5					487	42.3	46	4.0	229	19.9	
1921	1,506	559	37.1	112	7.4	11	.7					317	21.0	89	5.9	418	27.8	
1922	1,475	555	37.6	161	10.9	4	.3					349	23.7	92	6.2	314	21.3	
1923	1,598	591	37.0	104	6.5	5	.3					421	26.3	58	3.6	419	26.2	
1924	1,964	713	36.3	194	9.9	3	.2					539	27.4	39	2.0	476	24.2	
1925	1,815	506	27.9	243	13.4	22	1.2					446	24.6	71	3.9	527	29.0	
Quasi-criminal:																		
1915	5,453	4,260	78.1	208	3.8			162	2.9					493	9.0	330	6.1	
1916	3,718	2,502	67.3	321	8.6			34	.9			217	5.8	378	10.2	266	7.2	
1917	4,126	2,783	67.5	277	6.7			12	.3			138	3.3	597	14.5	319	7.7	
1918	4,394	3,634	82.7	115	2.6			7	.2			77	1.8	320	7.3	241	5.5	
1919	5,291	3,939	74.4	93	1.8			3	.1			427	8.1	529	10.0	300	5.7	
1920	3,894	2,841	73.0	180	4.6			8	.2			168	4.3	467	12.0	230	5.9	
1921	4,664	3,661	78.5	89	1.9			4	.1			97	2.1	531	11.4	282	6.0	
1922	4,824	3,806	78.9	124	2.6			91	1.9			120	2.5	468	9.7	215	4.5	
1923	4,029	3,243	80.5	79	2.0			27	.7			173	4.3	280	6.9	227	5.6	
1924	4,968	4,255	85.6	74	1.5			6	.1			156	3.1	183	3.7	294	5.9	
1925	3,012	1,663	55.2	105	3.5			4	.1			332	11.0	434	14.4	474	15.7	

Discharges varied from 64.1 per cent of all dispositions in 1915 to 34 per cent in 1925. The unusually large proportion in the first year may be due partly to the fact that no cases were reported as placed on probation during that year. The next largest percentage of discharges was 61.5 per cent, in 1924. The low point in discharges occurred in a year (1925) when the percentage of cases placed on probation (10.2 per cent) was the highest of any year since 1916. The percentage of cases dismissed for want of prosecution was highest in 1925 (15.7) and lowest in 1919 (4.6), but even with this increase in 1925 the proportion (50.3) of the total cases discharged or dismissed (including cases nol-prossed and nonsuited), was smaller than in any other year. Nolle prosequis and nonsuits together never reached more than 2.5 per sent (in 1920) and were as low as 0.3 per cent (in 1924).

The use of fines appeared to have undergone no marked change, the percentage of cases in which fines were imposed ranging from 4.9 to 8.4, except in 1924, when the percentage was only 2.5. These figures include only cases in which a fine was imposed and paid at once. Cases in which a fine was imposed and not paid, the offender being committed to an institution to serve out his fine, are included in the municipal-court statistics with other commitments. In 80 of the 972 cases selected for study by the bureau, fine was the only disposition made. In 25 of these cases the fine was paid at once; in 55 the boy served out a sentence in lieu of payment of the fine. These figures would indicate that the total number of cases in the

boys' court in which fines were imposed was more than twice as great as the number shown in official records.

The number of institutional commitments is increased by the inclusion of cases serving out fines, usually in the house of correction. In all but 3 of the 10 years in which probation was reported the number of commitments to institutions exceeded the number placed on probation. Institutional commitments formed less than 10 per cent in every year except 1925 when they were 13.2 per cent of all dispositions. Commitments to the house of correction ranged from 5.8 per cent in 1919 to 13.1 per cent in 1925. The jail sentences were negligible (never more than 0.2 per cent) and have been combined with other institutional commitments in Table 15 (p. 82).[17]

There had been no sustained tendency toward a decrease or increase in the proportion of convictions; that is, cases disposed of by commitment, by imposition of a fine, or by placing on probation. This proportion was highest in 1925, when it reached 30.1 per cent. In 1916 and 1917 the percentages of convictions were 26.3 and 24.5, respectively. In other years the percentages of convictions varied from 14.7 per cent in 1915 to 22.8 per cent in 1923. The cases held for the grand jury, however, must be considered in connection with convictions. The lowest percentage held or convicted was 25.1, in 1915. In all but 3 of the 11 years more than 30 per cent were held or convicted.

If the figures are averaged for the 11-year period more than half (53.4 per cent) of the felony charges disposed of by the boys' court were held for the grand jury, the rest being discharged or dismissed without trial. In nearly half (46.3 per cent) the misdemeanor cases the defendants were discharged or dismissed; in a fourth (25.5 per cent) the defendants were placed on probation (more in the earlier years than since 1920); and in a fourth (28.3 per cent) they were committed to a correctional institution or fined. In the misdemeanor cases there were more than six times as many sentences as fines. In four-fifths (79.8 per cent) of the quasi-criminal offenses during these years the cases were discharged or disposed of without trial; in a sixth (16.2 per cent) the defendants were fined or committed to correctional institutions for nonpayment of fine; and in only 3.9 per cent were the defendants placed on probation. In each year except 1919 and 1925 the probation cases comprised not more than 5.8 per cent of all quasi-criminal cases disposed of; the largest proportion was 11 per cent in 1925.

SPECIAL PROVISIONS FOR DEALING WITH BOYS OVER JUVENILE-COURT AGE IN THE UNITED STATES

It is a generally accepted principle that offenders under 16 years of age should be dealt with by courts as wards of the State rather than as criminals. All but two States (Maine and Wyoming) have juvenile-court laws providing such treatment for children under that age, with exceptions in some States in cases of serious crimes. For young persons above this age court treatment varies. The feeling is developing that treatment different from the usual criminal proce-

[17] Imprisonment was not prescribed as a penalty for violations of ordinances (quasi-criminal cases) and commitments in these cases were made only for nonpayment of fines.

dure should be extended to young people of the next age group. This tendency shows itself principally in two ways: First, the extension of juvenile-court jurisdiction to higher ages; and, second, the assignment of cases involving these young persons to other specialized courts.

The committee on juvenile-court standards appointed by the Children's Bureau recommended an age limit under which the court might obtain jurisdiction in children's cases not lower than 18 years.[18] Nearly half the States meet or exceed this standard in regard to boys, with certain exceptions. The juvenile court is given jurisdiction over boys under 18 in 21 States,[19] including 1 State (Alabama) in which jurisdiction over those between 16 and 18 years is discretionary with criminal courts, and 1 (Maryland) in which jurisdiction extends to boys under 20 years in certain counties. Five States (Arkansas, California, Iowa, Michigan, and Nevada) give the juvenile court jurisdiction up to 21 years, but in Michigan jurisdiction above the age of 17 is limited to wayward minors.[20] In one (Arkansas) the court has exclusive jurisdiction only if a minor is arrested without a warrant, having jurisdiction concurrent with criminal courts over persons under 21 arrested upon a warrant; in one (Nevada) the juvenile court may exercise jurisdiction over persons between 18 and 21 years only if the criminal court waives jurisdiction and the consent of the minor to the juvenile-court proceeding is obtained; in the other two States (California and Iowa) the juvenile court and the criminal courts have concurrent jurisdiction over persons between 18 and 21 years of age. The juvenile court also has concurrent criminal jurisdiction over minors under the age of 21 years in the largest city of another State (Denver, Colo.), where delinquency jurisdiction terminates at 18 years. One of the two States with no juvenile court law (Wyoming) also shows a tendency toward a high age limit, as a delinquent child is defined as a person under 21 years of age. In Maryland (Allegany and Washington Counties and Baltimore city). the juvenile court has concurrent criminal jurisdiction up to 18 years though delinquency jurisdiction terminates at 16 years.

State laws in Massachusetts, Missouri, New Mexico, New York, and Pennsylvania have made some provision for specialized treatment of minors over juvenile-court age by courts other than juvenile courts. In Boston and Springfield, Mass., and in Buffalo, N. Y., certain cases of minors are heard in domestic-relations branches of municipal courts.[21] In Pittsburgh, Pa., cases of persons between 16 and 21

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[18] Juvenile-Court Standards, p. 2. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 121. Washington, 1923.

[19] Alabama, Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Maryland, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island (delinquent under 16, wayward under 18), South Carolina (certain counties), South Dakota, Utah, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

[20] A Michigan law enacted in 1927 gave the juvenile court jurisdiction over "wayward minors," defined in the same terms as in the New York law (see p. 20) except that the age is between 17 and 21 instead of between 16 and 21, and an additional classification includes those who, when not disabled from lawful occupation or study, habitually idle away their time. (Mich., Acts of 1927, No. 127.) The law provided that wayward minors should not be detained in the juvenile detention home and that their cases should not be heard in the juvenile-court room at the same time that juvenile cases were being heard. In Detroit space for a court room and offices was rented in a down-town office building near police headquarters, where persons charged with being wayward minors were detained, if necessary, and kept separate from other offenders. In 1929 four probation officers were employed in this department of the juvenile court. The usual juvenile-court procedure was followed. Institutional facilities were reported to be inadequate.

[21] In Buffalo "wayward children"; in Boston and Springfield "stubborn children" (see pp. 20, 21).

years of age, whether they be complainants or defendants, are dealt with by the morals court.[22] The juvenile court of Waterbury, Conn., which is an independent court presided over by judges of the city court and served by the same clerk and probation officers as that court, has jurisdiction over children under 16 years of age. Cases of young defendants above that age in the city court are heard in the court room used for juvenile cases. The boys' court branch of the municipal court of Chicago has jurisdiction over all types of cases except indicted felonies involving boys between 17 and 21 years of age.

In 1923 the New York Legislature passed a law outlining procedure regarding girls between the ages of 16 and 21 who might be deemed "wayward minors." In 1925 boys of similar ages were included, and a fifth clause was added to the definition of wayward minors. The present law defines as a wayward minor any person—

> * * * between the ages of 16 and 21 who either (1) is habitually addicted to the use of drugs or the intemperate use of intoxicating liquors, or (2) habitually associates with dissolute persons, or (3) is found of his or her own free will and knowledge in a house of prostitution or assignation or ill fame, or (4) habitually associates with thieves, prostitutes, pimps or procurers, or disorderly persons, or (5) is wilfully disobedient to the reasonable and lawful commands of parent, guardian, or other custodian and is morally depraved or is in danger of becoming morally depraved.

Such cases, involving offenses less than felonies or misdemeanors, are brought before the magistrates' courts. The law provides that a wayward minor "before commitment to an institution shall, so far as practicable, be placed upon probation for a period not to exceed two years," or if not a fit subject for probation shall be committed to a reformative institution for an indeterminate period not to exceed three years.[23] In Buffalo cases of wayward minors are heard by the domestic-relations division of the city court. Elsewhere they are disposed of by the lower criminal courts.[24]

The misdemeanants' division of the municipal court of Philadelphia, established in 1915, hears cases of incorrigible, runaway, and vagrant boys and girls between 16 and 21 years of age, of women street walkers regardless of age, and of men pandering in the streets. The Pennsylvania law relating to wayward minors, as amended in 1917, provides that the municipal court of Philadelphia shall have exclusive jurisdiction in "all proceedings concerning, or trials of charges brought against all minors between 16 and 21 years who shall disobey their parents' commands, or be found idle in the streets, and against all disorderly children," and defines as disorderly "all children not under the age of 16 years deserting their homes without good and sufficient cause, or keeping company with dissolute or vicious persons, against the lawful commands of their fathers,

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[22] This court was established by city ordinance in 1918. The ordinance confers upon the court jurisdiction "in all cases * * * against minors and against persons who may be found to be engaged in or to be charged with keeping disorderly, bawdy, or assignation houses * * * abuse or neglect of family * * *." See the Juvenile Court of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh), Report of a Study by the National Probation Association, p. 47 (New York, 1927).

[23] N. Y., Laws of 1925, ch. 389, secs. 1 and 2, as amended by Laws of 1929, ch. 106.

[24] For a discussion of the wayward minor law, see Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual State Conference of Probation Officers, held in New York City, Dec. 7–9, 1925, in the Nineteenth Annual Report of the New York State Probation Commission for the Year 1925, pp. 76–85. See also Report of Subcommittee of the Courts Committee of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities on the Proposition Whether a Boys' Court Should be Established in the Borough of Brooklyn, Mar. 18, 1929.

mothers, or guardians, or other person standing in the place of a parent."[25]

Massachusetts courts have jurisdiction over "stubborn children" under 21 years of age, derived from an old law applying to rogues and vagabonds, stubborn children, runaways, "common drunkards," and a number of other classes of persons. Such persons may be punished by commitment to a State reformatory or farm or to a house of correction or workhouse, fined, or discharged on entering into a recognizance, with surety, for good behavior. The form of indictment for a stubborn child, as specified in the law, is as follows: "That A. B., a minor, during the three months next before the making of this complaint, was a stubborn child and stubbornly refused to submit to the lawful and reasonable commands of C. D., whose commands said A. B. was bound to obey."[26] In the central district of Boston and in Springfield such cases are heard by domestic-relations courts. Elsewhere they are disposed of by the ordinary courts of inferior criminal jurisdiction.

In Missouri minors between 17 and 21 who commit acts that would constitute delinquency if committed by a minor under 17 (including serious offenses) may be tried for misdemeanor in any court of record, including the juvenile court. A New Mexico law of 1919 gives the district court exclusive jurisdiction over girls between 16 and 18 years of age accused of felonies less than murder or of misdemeanors, but in 1929 certain offenses specified in the 1919 law were in effect placed under the jurisdiction of the juveline courts.[26a]

CHICAGO PLAN FOR DEALING WITH BOYS OVER JUVENILE-COURT AGE

The Chicago juvenile court, which has jurisdiction over delinquent boys under the age of 17 years, was the pioneer juvenile court in the United States. Chicago has also been a pioneer in the development of specialized court treatment of boys from 17 to 20 years of age, inclusive. The municipal court act of 1905 centralized in one court, with various branches, inferior civil and criminal jurisdiction throughout the city. A boys' court branch was established by rule of court in 1914. Its creation is an example of what can be accomplished without special legislation in reform of judicial organization.

The boys' court has jurisdiction over misdemeanors and quasi-criminal offenses committed by boys of the ages specified, and conducts preliminary examinations in felony cases involving boys of these ages, holding them for action by the grand jury. If an indictment is returned such cases are tried by the criminal court. The criminal court is composed of judges of the superior and circuit courts, and does not have a separate division for younger defendants. The jurisdiction and procedure of the boys' court are the same as those of the other branches of the court of which it is a part, but the study made by the Children's Bureau showed that the following characteristics distinguished it from the branch courts having the usual criminal and quasi-criminal jurisdiction.

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[25] Pa., Laws of 1913, No. 399, sec. 11, as amended by Laws of 1917, No. 328.
[26] Mass., Gen. Laws 1921, ch. 272, sec. 53, and ch. 277, sec. 79, p. 2828.
[26a] N. Mex., Laws of 1919, ch. 86; Laws of 1929, ch. 74.

1. Segregation of boys' cases from other cases, eliminating association in court of boys with older criminals. This segregation, unfortunately, had not been carried out in the police stations, where the boys were detained pending arraignment, and it had been effected only in part in the county jail, where they were held during continuances or to await the action of the grand jury and the criminal court.

2. Some degree of specialization of judicial function as a result of the segregation of cases. This segregation enabled the judge to become somewhat familiar with the special problems involved in boys' cases and to gain experience in handling them. However, the frequency with which judges assigned to the court were changed—three to seven times a year from 1919 to 1925—and the large number of cases dealt with by one judge—an average of 50 cases a day, 27 of these new cases, in 1924 and 1925—greatly hindered the development of constructive policies by the judge and lessened the individual consideration which each case should have had.

3. The beginnings of social service in boys' cases through the social-service department of the court and representatives of three private organizations working with it. The official staff of this department at the time of the study consisted of only three workers, all women, who were responsible to the clerk of the court through the deputy in charge of the criminal department. No one was in immediate charge of the department, and the duties of the workers were dependent to a considerable extent upon the wishes of the judge who happened to be assigned to the boys' court.

ARREST AND DETENTION

Boys arrested were taken to the police stations and booked in the same manner as other arrested persons. The procedure as to examination, commitment, and bail was the same as in adult cases. The police department of Chicago had no special officers assigned to work with boys of the ages under consideration,[27] as it had for work with boys of juvenile-court age, and no separate places of detention were provided for them. In the police stations, where they were held pending arraignment, they were subjected to association with criminals of all types. Statistics were not available as to the length of such detention, but instances of detention for several days before a charge was filed, in an attempt to obtain confessions, were related by some of the boys interviewed. This detention appears to have been accompanied in some instances by brutal treatment on the part of the officers.

County jail statistics show an increasing use of jail detention for boys pending disposition of their cases. Boys of 17 and 18 years of age were usually assigned to the top floor of the jail, but accommodations there were not sufficient to provide for all boys of these ages, and segregation of the older boys was not provided. Study of the cases included in this inquiry indicates that many boys whose cases were ultimately dismissed or discharged were held in jail while waiting disposition of their cases. Negro boys were detained in jail more

[27] In 1929 it was reported that two police officers were detailed to the boys' court to assist boys in finding employment.

frequently than white boys, probably owing in large part to their being less able to give bail. Unnecessary detention of boys was particularly unfortunate because of the notoriously bad conditions in the county jail. A new jail, however, with separate quarters for boys, was under construction. (See p. 32.)

STUDY OF CASES

Investigation of the home conditions and the boy's history was almost never made before the hearing, and only a small proportion of the cases were continued for investigation by the probation department, which was inadequately staffed and had no officers especially assigned to investigate and supervise boys' cases only. A small amount of social information was obtained through interviews with the boys immediately before the hearing. Records of social agencies were not consulted. The staff of three women in the social-service department, supplemented by representatives of three private organizations, could not possibly assemble the information needed by the judge as a basis for deciding what disposition would be most likely to prevent further delinquency and crime. Study by the Children's Bureau of the histories of 82 boys dealt with by the boys' court showed only a very small number in which sufficient information had been available to the judge to enable him to determine whether or not the boy was in need of constructive supervision.

It had been the hope of those interested in the establishment of the boys' court and the psychopathic laboratory that much could be accomplished through scientific study of the mental condition and emotional make-up of the boys. Because of the small staff of the laboratory and the need for its service in other branches of the municipal court, only a small proportion (not more than 15 or 16 per cent) of boys' court cases were referred to it for examination.[27a] The results of the study of those boys who were referred were made available to the court only in the most general terms, except when supplemental information was given orally. Unless the boy was so defective as to be eligible for commitment to an institution for the feeble-minded the findings of the laboratory afforded little guidance to the court in prescribing treatment. Even if a complete report of findings and recommendations had been made, it could have been utilized only to a limited extent so long as the resources available to the court for treatment, either through probationary supervision or institutional care, were so far from adequate.

HEARINGS

Quarters for the boys' court were inadequate for the work of the social-service staff, for the care of the boys while awaiting hearing, and for the hearing.[28] The judges endeavored to conduct the hearings in a more or less informal and direct manner, and to consider the information at hand concerning the history of the boy and the suggestions made by social workers. The attitude of the boys themselves, as indicated in interviews with the representative of the Children's Bureau, was that the court was a good institution and that the judges

[27a] Since this report was written the psychopathic laboratory has been reorganized under a new director.

[28] In 1929 the boys' court was occupying quarters in the new police building.

intended to be fair and helpful. This was in marked contrast to their attitude toward the police. The crowded condition of the public court room, however, made it difficult to develop a procedure different from that usually characterizing inferior criminal courts. The treatment accorded the boys by the court attendants was for the most part not noticeably different from that accorded older defendants in unspecialized courts.

Cases not of the grade of felony were disposed of fairly promptly. In 72 per cent of the cases studied that were not held for the grand jury, disposition was made by the boys' court in less than a month, and in 47 per cent in less than a week. Long continuance of some cases was due to their assignment to private agencies for supervision during continuance. In 65 per cent of the cases held for the grand jury the interval between the initiation of the case and the final disposition was two months or more, and in 40 per cent three months or more.

DISPOSITION OF CASES

A large proportion (63 per cent) of 948 cases studied, disposed of by the boys' court, the grand jury, or the criminal court, were dismissed or discharged. However, in 8 per cent the boys received informal supervision from private agencies after discharge or during continuance, and in 1 per cent they were discharged as juveniles or committed to the State institution for the feeble-minded. In 53 per cent of the cases the boy received no supervision and paid no penalty as a result of his boys' court experience. In 23 per cent the boy was either placed on probation or received informal supervision. Cases in which the boy was sentenced to an institution or committed for nonpayment of fine comprised 15 per cent of the total, and in 3 per cent fines were imposed and paid. The proportion of negro boys committed to institutions was higher than the proportion of white boys, and as a rule they were committed for longer periods.

The large proportion of discharges and dismissals raises the question whether unnecessary arrests were being made or whether boys in need of supervision were failing to receive it. Among the cases studied intensively were several in which arrests appeared to be unnecessary and unjustified. Several instances were also found of boys discharged who were in need of constructive treatment of some sort. In some cases the boy felt that "pull" exercised by a gang was sufficient to save him from any serious penalty for wrongdoing.

A large proportion of the cases in which fines were imposed resulted in imprisonment for nonpayment of fine. In only 25 of the 80 cases included in the study in which fines were imposed was the fine paid.

In many instances charges of the grade of misdemeanor or quasi-criminal offense were ordered filed instead of more serious charges. This was done when the evidence was weak, and the practice may also be accounted for in part by the lack of jurisdiction of the boys' court over felonies, which under the Illinois law include cases of larceny if the property stolen is worth as little as $15.[29]

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[29] Ill., Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's), 1927, ch. 38, sec. 389. The increased proportion of felony cases in 1926 and 1927 may indicate that the practice of reducing charges was becoming less common. (See footnote 13, p. 12.)

The percentage of cases placed on official probation was low (15 per cent of those studied). Information obtained in this inquiry from the boys and their parents indicated that, although some of the probation officers understood boys' problems and were dealing with them effectively, the majority of the boys on probation received supervision of only the most routine kind.

The adult probation department was under the control of the judges of the circuit, superior, and municipal courts, who appointed the chief probation officer. Half the other probation officers were appointed by the judges of the circuit and superior courts, for the county, and half by the judges of the municipal court, for the city. Probation officers were not subject to civil service, though at the direction of the judges examinations had been held for officers appointed for the county. Salaries were fairly adequate, with the exception of those paid the first and second assistant chief probation officers ($2,820 and $2,712, respectively, in 1927). These officers should receive compensation sufficient to attract and hold supervisors experienced in the direction of case work. The chief probation officer did not have full authority over the members of his staff. Specialized probation service had not been developed for the specialized branches of the municipal court. The number of cases under the supervision of each officer (averaging 127 for officers assigned to court duty as well as to supervision of probationers) was much larger than the standard generally agreed to be desirable (a maximum of 50 cases to each officer). Under these conditions it was impossible in most cases for probation officers to give adequate attention to the problems of conduct and social adjustment presented by boys under supervision. The records kept by the probation department did not give an adequate picture of the problems involved or the work done.

Besides the jail, the institutions to which boys might be sentenced were the house of correction, in which boys were partly but not wholly separated from older men; the reformatory, which received boys and men under the age of 26 years and which provided for separation of those under and over 21 years; and the penitentiary, to which boys 18 to 20 years of age convicted of certain major felonies might be committed. Institutional commitments were in the main short-term commitments to the house of correction, which was not equipped to give boys the constructive training that they needed. Among the boys whose cases were studied some seemed to have profited by a very short commitment, of one week to 30 days. A constructive institutional program of school work with vocational value, recreation, and wise discipline, appeared to be needed, however, for many of the boys. No institution was available for the long-time care of boys of borderline mentality or with emotional defects and confirmed delinquent habits.

The cases studied in which boys had been committed to institutions showed little or no constructive help given by parole officers after discharge.

BOYS COMING BEFORE THE COURT

From the records of the courts and the social agencies, assembled for 972 cases, involving 909 boys, dealt with by the boys' court in

1924 and 1925, and from an intensive study of 82 of these cases considerable information was obtained concerning the boys and their needs, as well as concerning the methods used in dealing with their problems.

Although only 14 per cent of the boys appearing in court whose race was reported were colored (all negroes except one), this is a large percentage in view of the small proportion of negroes in the total population of Chicago. More than three-fourths of the boys (77 per cent) were native born themselves, but more than half (57 per cent of those reporting race and nationality) had immigrant parents. The proportion of foreign born in the total population in 1920 was 30 per cent.

Three-fifths of the 909 boys were under 19 years of age. Nearly all the boys had lived in Chicago at least two months, and nearly all were unmarried. The families of more than half the boys (53 per cent) were known to at least one social agency.

Fifty-seven per cent of the boys in court were reported to be living with their own parents, and 5 per cent with one parent and a step-parent. Twenty per cent were living with one parent only, and 18 per cent were living elsewhere, half of them rooming and the others living with other relatives or in their own homes, as a few were married.

Few of the boys were attending school at the time of their offense, and practically all were or had been at work. However, 36 per cent of those for whom employment status was reported were unemployed at the time of their offense. More than two-thirds (68 per cent) of the boys reporting school grade had completed the sixth, seventh, or eighth grade; 24 per cent had attended high school; and 8 per cent had completed less than six grades.

Information in regard to mental status at the time of the offense was available for only 107 of the 909 boys. Of these, 47 were classified by the psychopathic laboratory as low, middle, and high grade morons—that is, as under 12 years of age mentally—and 18 as high grade borderland morons. The mental age of 42 ranged from 12 to 15 years or above. In regard to emotional defect all the 107 boys were classified by the psychopathic laboratory of the municipal court as suffering from some form of dementia praecox. It is probable that the term dementia praecox was used by the psychopathic laboratory to include degrees of emotional defect or instability which in other clinics would not have been classified as definite deviation from the normal.

Of the 909 boys, 75 per cent had not been dealt with officially by the juvenile court and 25 per cent had delinquency records in the Chicago juvenile court. (See p. 98.) Forty-two per cent had been arrested in Chicago before the offense studied and after they had passed the age of juvenile-court jurisdiction. The record of delinquency is not complete, however. Forty-seven per cent had neither juvenile nor other delinquency records, so far as was known; 28 per cent had records only when beyond juvenile-court age; 11 per cent had juvenile records only; and 14 per cent had both juvenile and other court records.

Study of the records of 220 of the 250 boys who had reached their twenty-first birthday before the date of the Children's Bureau study

(May 31, 1926), and who therefore for the four years preceding that birthday had been within the age jurisdiction of the boys' court showed that two-thirds (67 per cent) were repeaters. Only 20 per cent of this group had been in the juvenile court for delinquency. Juvenile-court records were somewhat more frequent among the boys who were repeated offenders in the boys' court. Thus of the repeaters 24 per cent had histories of delinquency as children which brought them officially before the juvenile court, whereas of the nonrepeaters only 12 per cent had such juvenile-delinquency records.

Of the boys who were brought before the boys' court and had juvenile-court records 48 per cent of those for whom information was obtained concerning the disposition of the last case in the juvenile court had been committed to an institution, 21 per cent had been placed on probation, and the cases of 27 per cent had been dismissed, dropped, or continued generally. This is a large proportion of failures for boys with experience in institutions for juvenile delinquents, especially in view of the fact that institutional commitments formed only 28 per cent of all dispositions of cases by the juvenile court during the eight years before 1924.

Neither can institutional commitments of older boys be considered a generally successful method of preventing further delinquencies, for, in spite of their incarceration during at least part of the subsequent period, a larger proportion of boys sent to institutions for the offense studied were rearrested than of boys given other treatment. The fact that commitments are more probable in cases of the more serious offenders who would be most likely to commit further offenses doubtless accounts in part for this showing. Nevertheless, it is significant that 30 per cent of the boys sent to institutions were rearrested, as compared with 20 per cent of those given other dispositions.

It is evident that in formulating further plans for the treatment of delinquents over juvenile-court age in Chicago boys of 17 and 18 must be especially considered, for they appear in court in larger numbers than boys of 19 and 20. The proportions of serious offenders among the older and the younger boys appear to be approximately the same. About a fourth of the boys of each age under 20 and a somewhat larger proportion of boys 20 years of age were charged with felonies. Preventive methods should have a major part in the treatment of boys of 17 to 20 years of age because of the large number who apparently come into conflict with the law for the first time during these years. For many of these boys the formative period of their life did not end with the age limit fixed by the juvenile court law.[30]

The case histories show a comparatively small proportion of "hardened criminals" among any of the groups dealt with by the boys' court. Like all other members of the human family, these boys had their own particular problems and needs. Complicating factors in the delinquencies of many of them were broken homes; poverty; lack of intelligent and sympathetic guidance at home; difficulties in school; shifting of jobs, with more or less unemployment; bad companions, including gang affiliations; and, in a considerable number of instances, mental dullness ranging down to definite mental defect, and

[30] Healy, William: The Individual Delinquent, p. 173. Boston, 1915.

emotional instability. The court experience of some of the boys was more or less accidental, or their delinquency was a passing phase in their transition from boyhood to manhood. Among these were boys with good homes, fair education, and promising vocational adjustments, as well as boys who were hampered by family problems and bad environment.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To deal with the conduct problems that these boys present, the single "remedy" of speedy and certain justice, with severe penalties, frequently advocated by those who are concerned about the so-called "crime wave," is clearly not sufficient. On the contrary, the facts assembled indicate the need for such individual study and scientific treatment as constitute the basis of juvenile-court work. This does not mean that a sentimental policy of leniency is recommended. The study showed that under the present system two-thirds of the boys were discharged or their cases dismissed with nothing more severe than a warning or, at most, a period of informal, friendly supervision by a representative of a private agency. If more were known about the boys and the causes of their delinquencies, doubtless the number of discharges would be reduced and the numbers placed on probation or committed to institutions would be increased, especially if resources for constructive treatment and guidance in the community under probationary supervision or in institutions were available.

Any plan for more adequate organization of Chicago's resources for dealing with delinquent boys in the later period of adolescence should be based upon careful examination of the jurisdiction of the juvenile court, the boys' court, and the criminal court, the organization of the courts and the various departments (social service, probation, laboratories for psychological and psychiatric study) available to them, the policies and methods of the police, detention facilities, and facilities for institutional care. Organizations engaged in work which tends toward the prevention of delinquency and crime should also be considered.

The more important changes suggested by the findings of this study are as follows:

1. Jurisdiction of juvenile court and boys' court.

As boys 17 and 18 years of age form the majority of boys coming before the boys' court a large part of the problem might be met by extending the age jurisdiction of the juvenile court one or two years and at the same time increasing the resources available to the juvenile court for probationary supervision and institutional care of older boys. Nearly half the States extend juvenile-court jurisdiction to boys under 18 years of age or to a higher age. (See p. 19.)

The Chicago juvenile court has power to waive jurisdiction and permit a child to be tried under ordinary criminal procedure,[31] and it would seem that this provision would safeguard the interests of the public adequately for the 17-year group, as it does for the group under 17. Of the 17-year-old boys included in the study 26 per cent were accused of offenses of the grade of felony. Of the 26 boys of this age included in the 82 cases studied intensively only 4 or 5 could be said to show confirmed tendencies toward criminality, which the

[31] Ill., Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's), 1927, ch. 23, sec. 199.

juvenile court might not be equipped to handle. If jurisdiction were extended to include 18 years, juvenile-court jurisdiction over boys of this age might be made concurrent with that of criminal courts, as in California and several other States.

Taking 17-year-old boys out of the boys' court would decrease the number of boys' court cases 25 to 30 per cent and increase the number of juvenile-court cases 33 to 40 per cent.[32] Concurrent jurisdiction over 18-year-old boys would still further increase the volume of juvenile-court work and decrease the volume of boys' court work. Such a change should not be proposed to the legislature without careful study of what changes in the juvenile-court program and resources would be needed, and assurance that increased appropriations to provide for the expansion would be forthcoming. Consideration should be given to the additional judicial service that would be required, the additions to the probation staff that would be needed, the problem of providing detention care for boys 17 and 18 years of age, the age limits of the institutions to which the juvenile court commits delinquent children, and the possibilities of providing additional institutional facilities for their care.

If it should be found inadvisable to transfer to the juvenile court part of the jurisdiction of the boys' court, through raising the age jurisdiction of the former, the boys' court might be developed into a court with both equity and criminal jurisdiction over boys of the ages dealt with at present, so that either procedure might be used at the judge's discretion. Such a change was recommended by Dr. George W. Kirchwey following his survey of the Cook County jail. "The next step is to transform this tribunal (boys' court) into a boys' court of unlimited jurisdiction in cases of crime or delinquency, with the protective and correctional powers now exercised by the juvenile court."[33] Such a transformation would involve the provision of an adequate staff and the development of resources for detention care and institutional treatment approximating those at the disposal of the juvenile court.

If clothing the court with full equity jurisdiction, including power to deal with boys who are incorrigible or beyond the control of their parents or guardians, in addition to those charged with violations of laws or ordinances, is not deemed feasible at the present time, a less far-reaching change would be to add to the existing criminal jurisdiction of the boys' court jurisdiction corresponding to that under the "wayward minors" acts of New York and Michigan and that exercised by the Philadelphia municipal court with reference to incorrigible, runaway, and vagrant boys and girls. (See pp. 19, 20.) At the present time a few parents unable to control their sons bring them to the boys' court and prefer charges of disorderly conduct; but the number of such cases is few, and it is not desirable that "disorderly" charges should be made in these instances.

It would also be desirable to give the boys' court concurrent jurisdiction with the higher courts in felony cases involving boys under 21. This would merely provide for the boys' court the power which seems to have been contemplated for the municipal court as a whole by the provision of the law for transfer of cases from other courts.

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[32] So many juvenile-court cases are adjusted out of court that doubtless fewer 17-year-old boys would reach the juvenile court for official hearing than now reach the boys' court.
[33] The Survey of the Cook County Jail, p. 38.

(See p. 36.) In considering this proposal careful examination should be made of the constitutional questions involved and the provision for jury trials that would be necessary.

2. Organization of boys' court.

Whether or not the boys' court is relieved of cases of boys under 18 or 19 years of age it should be made a more effective instrument for dealing constructively with the boys who will remain within its jurisdiction. Among the outstanding needs of the boys' court are the following:

(*a*) Assignment of one or more judges to give full time to the boys' court for a period of years. If the present jurisdiction of the court is retained and jurisdiction over wayward minors added the services of at least two judges will be needed. For success in this court the judges must be interested in the special problems of boys of this age and familiar with the methods of dealing with them developed by the social worker and the psychiatrist. It is only through long assignments to the boys' court that the judge can become familiar with the problems he deals with and the work of cooperating agencies and institutions, and develop stable policies of organization and procedure.

(*b*) Quarters[34] for the court that will make possible—

(1) Hearings in a small room that would accommodate only those legitimately concerned in the case.

(2) Waiting rooms separate from the court room for boys awaiting hearings who are out on bond, as well as provision of adequate quarters for boys in custody. Boys, parents, and witnesses should be in the court room only during the time when their own cases are heard.

(3) Office space for the social-service staff sufficient to provide privacy during interviews with boys, families, and complainants.

(*c*) An investigation service which will provide the judge with information as to the court record, early childhood, education, family and neighborhood conditions, employment record, habits and associates, recreation, and the circumstances under which the offense was committed.[35] Knowledge of the problems of each individual boy is essential for an intelligent decision as to what will prevent a recurrence of his antisocial conduct. It can be obtained only through adequate investigation of each case by a staff of well-trained social workers capable of interpreting as well as gathering facts and of formulating plans for treatment for presentation to the judge.

The investigation staff might be organized either in combination with the social-service staffs of other specialized branches of the municipal court, so that one department would serve the entire court under one properly qualified director, with trained social investigators assigned to the various branches, or under a probation department authorized and equipped to give the boys' court the services described.[36] At least the majority of the members of the staff

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[34] See description of new quarters on p. 48.

[35] See Probation and Delinquency, by Edwin J. Cooley, p. 59 (New York, 1927).

[36] Investigation by the probation department of cases in which there is no application for probation would be possible only if provided for by rule of court or by amendment of the probation law. See Ill., Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's), 1927, ch. 38, sec. 795 (1) (7); sec. 786.

assigned to the boys' court should be men. Appointments should be made from eligible lists established through competitive examination.

(*d*) Increased facilities for medical and psychiatric study, making possible the examination of a larger proportion of boys and complete reports of examinations, with recommendations for treatment in every case referred.

(*e*) Unofficial treatment of cases referred by parents, teachers, and others interested in boys' problems, and of minor cases for which the judge does not believe that official court action is necessary. Such treatment would involve discussion of problems with boys, their parents, and others concerned, and reference to agencies equipped to deal with the particular problems presented.

(*f*) Reorganization of the probation department so as to give special service to each specialized branch and to provide supervision in accordance with standards of the best probation work, with the object of helping to adjust the individual and social problems of the probationer.[37] Under such a reorganization private agencies could still be utilized for the supplementary services which they are best equipped to render.

Appointments to the probation department should be made subject to competitive examination, and definite requirements as to education and experience should be formulated. The chief probation officer should be competent to exercise leadership in community planning for the treatment of problems of delinquency and crime, as well as to establish policies and supervise the work of the probation department. The subdivisions of the department should be directed by persons competent to direct case work. The probation department should be removed entirely from politics, and the chief probation officer should be given full responsibility for the appointment and discharge of officers. The number of probation officers should be increased, so that officers giving full time to the supervision of probationers should not be required to supervise more than 50 cases and officers giving part time to this service should have proportionately fewer cases.

The records of the probation office should be more complete, showing for each case the problems involved, the treatment planned, and the results accomplished.

3. Policies and methods of police.

Among the changes which should be made in police methods of dealing with boys are the following:

(*a*) Greater care should be exercised in making arrests. Unnecessary arrests not only expose the boys to humiliating experiences but involve wasteful use of public machinery.

(*b*) Adoption of a policy limiting the holding of boys in police stations before a charge is made to the interval between arrest and the first session of the court following arrest.[38] According to the law there should be no "unnecessary delay" after arrest before examina-

[37] See Juvenile-Court Standards, p. 5 (U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 121, Washington, 1923); page 57 of this report; and Probation and Delinquency, p. 319 ff.

[38] Detention before a charge is filed, for longer than the period indicated, is illegal. See Beeley, Arthur Lawton, The Bail System in Chicago, p. 24. Thesis for degree of doctor of philosophy, University of Chicago, 1927.

tion by court.[39] A stricter interpretation by judges of the inadmissability of a confession made under circumstances which would interfere with its voluntary character would make the practice of holding boys for several days before taking them to court and "third-degree methods" described by the boys, less useful from the point of view of the police, and would therefore tend to reduce the practice.[40]

(*c*) Greater opportunity for release before arraignment. This might be accomplished through wider use by police officials of the recognizance without sureties.[41] It seems probable that this would be a relatively safe procedure, as few boys of the age under consideration disappear before the completion of their cases. Of the 1,499 cases studied the court remained in touch with the boy until the case was disposed of in all but 33 cases. Such a practice would reduce the number of boys held under undesirable conditions in the precinct stations.

(*d*) Improved facilities for detention pending arraignment of boys who can not be released. Arrangements should be made for detention of boys entirely separate from adults. A central place of detention would be preferable to the precinct stations in which boys of the boys' court age group are now held. If this is not feasible separate quarters should be provided in certain of the precinct stations so that these boys can be protected from contact with older offenders.

4. Detention in county jail.

Segregation of boys from other prisoners and a program of constructive activities should be provided. Conditions in the present county jail are notoriously bad. The completion of the new jail will solve the problem, at least in part. It is regrettable that a separate building was not provided for boys, but the present plan for separate quarters in the new jail can and should be developed so as to provide recreation, school, and other activities, and administration similar to that of a good juvenile detention home.[42]

5. Policies of boys' court.

Suggested changes in the policies of the boys' court should be considered in connection with recommendations previously made concerning its organization. The study showed the need for the following:

(*a*) Detention after arraignment kept at the minimum that public safety and the interests of the boys require. This study did not indicate that the increasing use of jail detention of boys was necessary. Decrease in the amount of detention could be effected by prompt and thorough social investigation, upon which decision as to release on personal recognizance or amount of bail required should be based.

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[39] Ill., Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's), 1927, ch. 38, sec. 660.

[40] Ill., Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's), 1927, ch. 38 sec. 736; McKelvey, John Jay: Handbook of the Law of Evidence, p. 183 (St. Paul, 1924).

[41] Compare Criminal Justice in Cleveland, p. 213 (Cleveland (Ohio), 1922): "The obtaining of this bond (given at time of arrest) ought not to be made unfairly difficult, and the accused should not perhaps be required at that time to find sureties who will stand good for his appearance at all later stages of the case."

[42] The new jail was occupied Feb. 15, 1929.

The personal recognizance (without sureties) [43] is used to some extent in the boys' court but could be utilized more safely and probably more frequently if the judge had more information in regard to the reliability of the boy. Practice in the municipal court at present standardizes the amount of bail according to the offense charged. The judge has power, however, to vary the amount of bail required, both in misdemeanor and in felony cases. It would be possible, therefore, for the judge to vary the amount with regard to "the personality, the social history, and financial ability of the accused, or the integrity and capacity of his sureties." [44] Jail detention might be necessary for a few days during the process of the investigation, but the duration of detention could be greatly reduced, both in cases continued in the boys' court and in those held for the grand jury.

(*b*) Dismissals and discharges without informal supervision to be used only when the evidence does not show that the boy has committed the offense charged or when investigation indicates that the boy's conduct and the conditions under which he lives do not present problems coming within the scope of the court. In every case the facts revealed by the social investigation and the psychiatric study—if the boy has been referred for examination—should be taken into consideration.

(*c*) Imposition of fine only after information has been obtained concerning the financial circumstances of the boy and his family. A large proportion of the cases in which fines are imposed result in imprisonment for failure to pay fine. If the boy is unable to pay consideration should be given to the question of the desirability of institutional commitment, and boys unable to pay fines should in some cases be placed on probation and allowed to pay in installments.

(*d*) Selection of persons for probation on the basis of information revealed by social investigation and, whenever possible, physical and mental examination.[45] The legal restrictions governing the type of person to be placed on probation should be removed, at least with reference to offenses not punishable by death or life imprisonment.[46]

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[43] Ill., Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's), 1927, ch. 37, secs. 406–409.

[44] The Bail System in Chicago, p. 155.

[45] The policy of the probation bureau, court of general sessions, New York City, is described as follows by its chief: "Health, intelligence, mental balance, industrial capacity, temperament, habits, social attitude, and group relationships were all considered in determining whether or not the delinquent could be adjusted by the probationary process. The confirmed alcoholic, the drug addict, and the habitual criminal were not considered suitable for probationary treatment. The mental defective in whom antisocial habits of thought had not become fixed was not excluded from consideration as a subject for rehabilitative measures in the community." (Cooley, Edwin J., New Goals in Probation, in The Courts and the Prevention of Delinquency, Annual Report and Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Conference of the National Probation Association, New York, 1926, pp. 87–88.)

[46] See p. 51. The law does not permit placing on probation if the defendant has been previously convicted of a felony or of petit larceny and embezzlement, and the offenses for which a defendant may be placed on probation are limited. (These limitations apply mainly to the criminal court, which tries felonies.) Seven States (Colorado, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Utah, Vermont, and Virginia) do not limit the type of offense for which persons under the age of 21 years may be placed on probation. Four others (Arizona, Delaware, Maine, and West Virginia) permit probation for persons under 21 years convicted of any offense except one punishable by death or life imprisonment. Only 14 States have restricted the use of probation for persons previously convicted of crime. (Figures from a summary of adult probation laws in effect in 1927, prepared by the National Probation Association and made available to the Children's Bureau in advance of publication through the courtesy of the association.) The importance of vesting in the court full discretion with reference to the use of probation has been emphasized by a number of writers. See, for example, The Development and Needs of Probation Service, by Charles L. Chute, in Proceedings of the National Conference on the Reduction of Crime, called by the National Crime Commission, Washington, D. C., Nov. 2 and 3, 1927, p. 140, and Probation in 1926, by Herbert C. Parsons, in The Courts and the Prevention of Delinquency, Annual Report and Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Conference of the National Probation Association, 1926, pp. 129, 131, 132.

(e) Determination of length of probation by the needs of each boy and the progress made during probation. If the problems of adjustment have not been solved at the end of the probation period originally fixed application should be made to the court for an extension of the term of probation.[47]

6. Policies of criminal court.

Boys' cases should be given precedence in the criminal court, if possible. Long delays such as occur at present are particularly detrimental in the case of young boys. Investigation of cases of boys under 21, now carried on by the county bureau of public welfare, might well be made by the officers of a reorganized probation department authorized to make such investigations. Policies as to disposition of cases similar to those outlined for the boys' court should be developed.

7. Facilities for institutional care and for parole.

Institutional facilities needed to meet the needs of the boys include at least four types of institution: (1) An institution to which boys may be committed for very short periods, as a disciplinary measure, when prolonged institutional training is not necessary; (2) an institution equipped to give constructive educational, vocational, and character training; (3) an institution for boys who, after careful social and psychiatric study, have been found to be defective in intelligence or emotional development and to require care for indeterminate periods; and (4) a penal institution for the most serious offenders committed for long terms.

The only institutions to which boys can be committed for short terms are the jail and the house of correction, to which adults also are committed. The latter receives prisoners sentenced for as long a period as one year. It would be desirable if a separate house of detention for boys could be provided to care for boys pending arraignment and after arraignment, and for boys committed for short periods.

The State reformatory should be developed so as to provide constructive training, vocational as well as academic, for boys who under present conditions would be committed to the house of correction for terms of six months or one year, as well as for boys of the types now committed to the reformatory.

Chicago courts have no institution of the third type available to them. Several of the cases showed the need of such an institution, which would be similar in purpose and program to the Massachusetts institution for defective delinquents. The establishment of an institution of this kind in Illinois has been urged frequently by persons interested in the problems of delinquency.

The State penitentiary receives boys 17 years of age and over convicted of certain specified felonies, and boys 18 years of age and over convicted of felonies of any class. Segregation of younger from older prisoners, which is carried out to a considerable extent, should be complete.

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[47] As only one extension is permitted by law (Ill., Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's), 1927, ch. 38, sec. 790), a change in the statute would be necessary. In some cases further extensions might be of an informal nature.

The parole department should be strengthened so as to make possible intensive supervision and recreational and vocational guidance in all cases.

8. Preventive work.

As in all studies of delinquency and crime both the statistical and the case studies showed the urgent need of expansion and improvement in the work of agencies dealing with behavior problems in their early stages and of recreational and character-forming agencies in the community. Among these agencies are schools, boys' clubs and recreation centers, child-guidance clinics, family-welfare societies, protective agencies, and the juvenile court.

9. Girl delinquents above juvenile-court age.

The present report deals only with the delinquent boy. Cases of girls under 21 years are not segregated in the municipal court. In working out a program for the treatment of delinquency of minors above juvenile-court age careful study of the needs of girls and the present organization for dealing with them should be made. If the age jurisdiction of the juvenile court is raised, girls as well as boys should be included, and if equity jurisdiction should be given to the boys' court a corresponding division for girls, which might well be under the same general direction, should be provided.

METHODS OF DEALING WITH BOY OFFENDERS IN CHICAGO

Chicago has without special legislation provided specialized-court treatment for minors above juvenile-court age, under the section of the municipal court act authorizing the establishment of branch courts. The boys' court branch of the municipal court deals with municipal-court cases involving boys from 17 to 20 years of age.[1] Unlike most of the other courts in which a beginning has been made in providing specialized treatment this court has no power to deal with young people charged merely with general waywardness, incorrigibility, or association with undesirable persons, as these classes are not provided for under the Illinois law. A definite criminal or quasi-criminal charge, such as "disorderly conduct," must be brought against a boy or a girl of this age if court action is desired. Chicago has no special court for girls over juvenile-court age (18 years). Girls and women charged with sex offenses are dealt with by the morals court, a branch of the municipal court.

GENERAL ORGANIZATION OF THE MUNICIPAL COURT[2]

HISTORY AND JURISDICTION

The municipal court of Chicago was established by an act of the State legislature, approved by the governor on May 18, 1905, and adopted by the voters of the city of Chicago on November 7, 1905. The first session was held December 3, 1906. The chief justice has been reelected several times so that throughout the history of the municipal court there has been only one chief justice. He has been responsible to a great extent for the development of the court.

The municipal court is a court of record—that is, its acts and proceedings are recorded and it has power to fine or imprison for contempt—with jurisdiction in both civil and criminal cases. It has original and unlimited jurisdiction of all misdemeanor cases and of prosecutions for the violations of municipal ordinances.[3] Jurisdiction was given it by statute in practically all classes of cases, civil or criminal, at law or in equity, transferred from other courts, but an early decision of the State supreme court held that a certain case was not legally transferred.[4] In felony cases, in practice, juris-

[1] In Illinois the juvenile court has jurisdiction over delinquent boys under 17, and jurisdiction once obtained may be exercised until the boy is 21. (Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's), 1927, ch. 23, sec. 190.)

[2] In addition to information obtained at first hand by representatives of the Children's Bureau the principal sources for this section are Ill., Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's), 1927 (ch. 37, secs. 356, 357, 359, 363–365, 369–371, 375, 376, 385, 414) and the annual reports of the municipal court. Sources other than these will be specified in footnotes.

[3] Park boards in Chicago are municipal corporations with power to pass ordinances, so that charges of violations of park ordinances, as well as of municipal ordinances, are heard in the municipal court.

[4] Miller *v.* People, 230 Ill. 65; People *v.* Strassheim, 228 Ill. 581.

diction is limited to preliminary examinations, cases in which probable cause is found being held for the grand jury, and later, if a true bill is returned, tried in the criminal court. Thus the trial jurisdiction of the municipal court extends to all offenses punishable by fine or imprisonment elsewhere than in the penitentiary. This jurisdiction includes quasi-criminal actions, bastardy cases, proceedings for the prevention of crime, proceedings for the arrest, examination, commitment, and bail of persons charged with criminal offenses, and proceedings pertaining to searches and seizures of personal property by search and search warrants. Territorially, jurisdiction is confined to the limits of the city of Chicago.

In the municipal court criminal and quasi-criminal cases, other than felony and illegitimacy cases, are tried without a jury unless the defendant declines to waive his constitutional right of trial by jury. In felony and illegitimacy cases the defendant must be tried by court and jury.[5] Municipal-court cases are final in the sense that there can be no new trial in another court. Appeals and writs of error are taken direct to the appellate or supreme courts as from other trial courts of record in Illinois.

JUDGES

In accordance with the act of the legislature and by act of the city council the municipal court has 37 judges. All judges are elected for 6-year terms, 12 associate judges being elected every two years and the chief justice every sixth year. The salary of the chief justice is $15,000 and of the associate judges $10,000. A chief justice or associate judge of the municipal court of Chicago must be at least 30 years of age and a citizen of the United States, and must have resided and been engaged in active practice as an attorney and counselor at law or in the discharge of the duties of a judicial office in Cook County for five years next preceding his election, or in one or the other during that time, and at the time of his election must be a resident of the city of Chicago. The court has no stated terms, but must always be open for the transaction of business.

BRANCH COURTS

The municipal court is divided into branch courts, which exercise the powers vested in the municipal court. Each branch court is presided over by a single judge. In 1924 and 1925 there were 35 branches—16 handling civil cases, 17 handling criminal cases, and 2 handling both civil and criminal cases. In addition a criminal night court was held. Of the 19 criminal branches 12 were unspecialized courts in the various districts into which the city has been divided, and 7 were specialized courts held in or near the municipal building. Among these specialized courts were the automobile court, the domestic-relations court, the morals court, and the boys' court. The chief justice assigns the associate judges to the branch courts from time to time as he may deem necessary for the prompt disposition of the business of the court. The branch courts must be open for business every day of the year except Sundays and

[5] Constitution of 1870 of Illinois, Art. II, secs. 5, 9; Harris *v.* People, 128 Ill. 585; Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's), 1927, ch. 17, sec. 4.

public or general holidays, and a judge must be in attendance at least three hours each day.

DEPARTMENTS [6]

Departments of the court include the office of the clerk and the bailiff's office, which perform the usual duties of such offices of a court. Deputy bailiffs are assigned to duty in each branch court. The clerk of court is elected for a 6-year term, at a salary during 1924, 1925, and 1926 of $9,000 a year. The clerk's office is divided into departments under the chief deputy clerk, the assistant deputy clerk, civil department, and the assistant deputy clerk, criminal department. These and all deputy clerks are appointed by the clerk; they are not subject to civil service.

The social-service workers are under the clerk of the court; they are assigned to the domestic-relations court, the morals court, and the boys' court.

The only published requirements for deputy clerks were promulgated by the court in 1908: Requisite ability, consisting of a fair education and ability to do the work efficiently; requisite character, consisting of honesty, good habits, and good reputation; devotion of whole time to the court; and a bond of $500.

RECORDS

The following records are kept in the municipal court: (1) A daily record for each branch, carrying the cases assigned for the day; and (2) a record for each case, called the "half-sheet." The daily record sheet shows docket number, name of defendant, charge, plea, disposition, fines, costs, amount paid at hearing, and whether defendant was taken into custody. These sheets are bound in books, one for each branch. The "half-sheet" contains the history of the case, usually having the following items: Title and number of case, manner of commencing proceedings (by complaint or by information), kind of offense charged, date of offense, date of complaint or information, plea, disposition other than by trial, mode of trial (by court or by jury), verdict, character of sentence, appeal and result, institution to which sentenced, whether fine was paid on date case was disposed of, period of commitment for nonpayment of fine, and date of release from imprisonment if by vacation of sentence. The fourth annual report of the court mentions (pp. 54 and 55) a few other items concerning the history of the case, and the following social data: Age, sex, color, race, birthplace, birthplace of parents, conjugal conditions, education, occupation, citizenship, and previous convictions. These do not appear on the boys' court records at the present time except in the social-service index. Each half-sheet is placed in a folder with other papers in the case, and all are kept as individual case files. Copies are made of each half-sheet in preliminary and criminal cases, and these copies become the official court records and are bound in books, one for each kind of action.

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[6] Statements based on information from the office of the clerk of court and on annual appropriation bills of the city of Chicago, as well as the State statutes and the annual reports of the court.

BOYS' COURT BRANCH OF THE MUNICIPAL COURT[7]

ESTABLISHMENT

The boys' court was opened on April 1, 1914. The Juvenile Protective Association and interested persons had urged the organization of such a branch court in order to segregate boys accused of violating the law from older and hardened offenders.[8] Organization of the court was delayed in the hope that a psychopathic laboratory might be attached to it.

JURISDICTION

The boys' court has jurisdiction over the same classes of cases as the other criminal branches of the municipal court. Boys charged with misdemeanors and quasi-criminal offenses are tried by it. Boys charged with felonies are given a preliminary examination, and if probable cause is found they are held for the grand jury. Although the court is designed for boys under 21, it may try an adult (man or woman) if he is involved in a case with boys under 21. Some boys just over 21 years are also tried in this branch. On the other hand, some cases of boys from 17 to 20 years of age do not reach the boys' court but are disposed of in other branches to which they have been brought, sometimes doubtless through ignorance of the boys' ages. No record is kept of the number of such cases which are not transferred. Jury cases are transferred for trial to the jury branch of the municipal court.

ORGANIZATION

Judges.

At the time of this study (1926) judges were assigned to the boys' court, as to other branches of the court, every three months or at irregular intervals when circumstances made reassignments advisable. Often one judge had been reassigned several times. In 1924, for example, one judge was on the boys' court bench for six months and parts of two other months, with an interval of only part of a month between; during the remaining period of approximately five months, five judges occupied the bench, one for a whole month and parts of two months, and the others for shorter periods. The judge who had served in the boys' court during the last few weeks of 1924 continued there for more than half of 1925, being relieved only twice by other judges for periods shorter than a month. After this there was an assignment of another judge for parts of two months, and then a more permanent assignment of a judge who remained for the last three months and more of the calendar year. In the period of almost 12 years of the existence of the branch (through 1925), 34 names appear among the assignments to the branch. Many of these were assigned several times. The number of judges assigned each year varied from two in 1918 to eight in 1922.

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[7] In addition to information obtained at first hand by representatives of the Children's Bureau the principal sources for this section are the annual reports of the municipal court. Sources other than these reports will be specified in footnotes.

[8] Annual Report, Juvenile Protective Association, 1912–13, p. 49. Chicago, Ill.

The frequent change of judges to which the boys' court, as well as other specialized branches of the municipal court, had been subjected, had prevented specialization by the judge. Under the old theory of the law the judge decided guilt or innocence and a punishment—the same usually for all—followed. Under an organization like the boys' court he must decide on the guilt or innocence of the boys, but should also determine which of the kinds of possible punishment or "treatment" will help the individual boy most and thus prevent a career of delinquency and crime. Frequent reassignments mean that the judge does not have the opportunity to learn what are the problems of these boys, the resources of the city for aiding them, and the results of the different types of treatment given. Moreover, a judge who knows his term in this branch is temporary can not take the steps to organize and develop the work that would be feasible if he could look forward to years instead of months of service.

Staff.

Aides to the judge in the work of the court were the usual bailiffs and clerical staff, the clerks assigned to the social-service department, the psychopathic laboratory of the municipal court, and the adult probation department, serving the municipal and the criminal courts of Cook County.

SOCIAL-SERVICE DEPARTMENT

Organization.

Since the establishment of the boys' court the clerk of the municipal court had assigned to it persons employed as members of his staff but designated as serving in the social-service department. These workers had not been assigned from other positions in the clerk's office but were selected from outside the clerical department. Their qualifications had not been laid down, and no examinations had been held nor list of eligibles maintained. At the time of this study the staff consisted of three women. One had been there since the establishment of the boys' court in 1914 and was known as the social-service secretary. The two others, a negro woman who supervised a number of negro boys and a woman who spoke Polish and often acted as interpreter in cases involving Slavic-speaking people, had been in the social-service department from one to two years. No one was in direct charge of the department, but each officer was responsible to the deputy clerk in charge of the criminal department. Little coordination of work was possible under such conditions. The exact duties of each worker were dependent to a considerable extent upon the wishes of the judge who presided over the court.

Three private organizations had representatives at the boys' court regularly—the Jewish Social Service Bureau, the Chicago Federation of Churches, and the Holy Name Society. These workers referred to their organizations cases which appeared to require follow-up care, and supervision was given by paid workers or by volunteers.

Duties of staff.

The principal duties of the social-service workers were as follows: (1) To keep a card index of cases of boys 17 to 20 years of age, (2)

to interview boys in order to obtain the information called for by the card index, and (3) to furnish this information to the judge.

Occasionally, it was said, the judge requested an investigation by the social-service department before the disposition of a case. This was not the practice at the time of the Children's Bureau study.[9] Occasionally, also, complaints of parents or others in regard to idle, unruly, or intractable boys were brought to these workers, and efforts were made to correct the situation without court action. At the direction of the judge the social-service workers made appointments for the examination of boys at the psychopathic laboratory and received reports from it. Investigation and supervision of boys during continuance of their cases were often assigned to the representatives of the three private agencies at the court. Even when cases were officially discharged the boys were sometimes placed under the informal supervision of these private organization workers, being told by the court to report to the worker for a certain length of time—six months or a year, or for an indefinite period.

Methods of work.

The principal contact of the social-service department with the boys was by means of interviews, which were held before court opened in the morning. They were the only means of furnishing information to the judge at the first hearing of a case.

Boys out on bond were interviewed at the rail separating the main part of the court room from the judge's bench. The interview, although often pleasant, was businesslike, and no attempt was made to induce confidence. It was necessarily short, as 25 to 35 new cases a day had to be disposed of in little more than an hour. Not only was the time too short for more than a perfunctory question-and-answer type of interview; but the general confusion of the court room, as people arrived and as police and social workers and privileged visitors passed from the public part of the room through the gate immediately beside the table over which the interview took place, would hinder any attempt to do more thorough work.

Boys in detention were interviewed by the social-service secretary in the social-service room. This room was more private, but even here interruptions and distractions were frequent as all the various social or volunteer workers at the court used it as their office. A small room leading into the social-service room was used by several officers of the court not connected with the social-service department. The same rush was necessary as in the interviews with boys out on bond, in order that all the boys might be interviewed before the hearing. No attempt was made to verify the boys' statements, and no use was made of the social-service exchange either at the time of the interview or after the hearing.

In addition to being interviewed by the court worker each boy was interviewed before he appeared in court by a representative of one of the three private organizations, according to his race or religion. The type of interview varied with each society. The information sought by the representative of the federation of churches was similar

[9] The value of investigation before the disposition of cases is shown in the story of Henry Cameron, p. 122, who was arrested because of a mistaken identification and discharged after an investigation by a representative of a private agency during continuance of the case.

to that sought by the court worker, but in addition information was requested as to the church connection of the boy or of his family. The representative of the Jewish Social Service Bureau made a more complete inquiry. Facts obtained by the social-service department of the court were taken from its records to avoid repetition of questioning, and the interview was supplemented by information from records in the Jewish Social Service Bureau and by information from employers, family, and other sources used in case-work investigations.

In the few unofficial cases observed during the weeks spent in the social-service office, the efforts of the workers were confined to talking with the boys and pointing out to them the possibility of a jail sentence. A member of the staff stated that such unofficial treatment sometimes included putting a boy in the "bull pen" where the boys in detention await their turn in court, or putting on handcuffs to make more realistic the threat that the boy was going to be "sent away." Efforts were also made to assist boys who were stranded away from home. When the judge so directed letters were written to the families of these boys, and arrangements were made for their return home. Occasionally efforts were made to find lodging and employment for boys who could not be returned to their homes.

The work done after the hearing was determined by the boys' court judge. He was responsible for the policy of the social-service department so far as that was not established by the clerk's office. As no one person was in immediate charge of the department the members of the staff worked somewhat independently. Whatever follow-up work was done on cases appearing in court lacked any real plan; it was carried on as the individual worker saw fit, sometimes with the advice or consent of the judge. Occasionally a social worker asked help on a case from a social agency, especially from one of the agencies furnishing living accommodations. The negro worker had been given responsibility for the negro boys, but white boys were assigned according to religion to workers from the private agencies cooperating with the court.

When a boy was placed under the supervision of a private agency its representative held a conference with him before he left the court, arranged for further reporting, and told him what was expected of him. A judge who was on the bench at the time of this study considered that this method of supervision either before or after disposition possessed advantages over the official probation system, which he believed was not organized at that time to give special attention to boys' cases and their problems. The representatives of the private agencies had the advantage of dealing only with this type of case. The thoroughness, quality, and type of work varied with the different organizations. Moreover, the work assigned to these outside workers varied in the different cases and often changed entirely with each judge assigned to the court. The frequency of reports by the boy, home visits by the worker, and the working out of a plan for the boy were usually left to the workers. One agency tried to make one home visit in each case and required reports either in person or by letter. When continued cases came up for a second hearing the worker in charge might make an oral report to the judge in court, usually very brief, or might report to

him in chambers or by letter. The written reports of these workers attached to the social-service cards were very meager.

These workers did some work not specifically requested by the judge. The main object of the federation of churches was to win the boy back to the church. If the worker after the interview with the boy believed that the federation could be of service to him or his family, follow-up work was done, regardless of whether the judge had requested it. The amount of this kind of work depended upon the amount of work assigned by the judge. When the judge did not assign many cases to the representative of the federation she had a good deal of time for other work. During the term of a judge who organized the work of the outside agencies most thoroughly, however, additional workers were employed by the federation and assistance was also obtained from students at universities or theological schools whose interests were definitely social and who were usually paid for their time by the schools.

The Holy Name Society also considered that its principal object was to establish for the boy a connection with the church. Every Catholic boy appearing before the boys' court was reported to a "big brother" who lived in the boy's parish and spoke the language of the boy's parents. The "big brother" visited the home and ascertained conditions relating to church, school, and employment. He reported his visits to the superintendent of the society, but did not include in these reports any information obtained in the home visit. Cases might be dropped because efforts were fruitless or because the boy belonged to a family which the "big brother" thought was capable of handling the problem. Otherwise the boys were under supervision for definite periods.

The Jewish Social Service Bureau was a social rather than a church agency and differed from the church organizations in approach, object, and method. Upon information obtained from the social investigation the head of the legal department of the bureau decided whether or not to follow up a case and which department should handle it. If the boy was the chief problem the boys' worker handled the case, but if the family presented the problem the family department handled it.

Records.

The records kept by the social-service department were very simple. On the index card the worker entered the boy's name, address, age, race, birthplace, civil condition, grade in school, and the boy's statement of his present offense, of his juvenile-court record, and of previous arrests. After the hearing the disposition of the case was entered on the cards. If a boy who had been held for the grand jury came before the boys' court on a later charge, information concerning the criminal-court disposition was requested from the social-service bureau at the county jail and entered on the boy's card if secured. A new card was made out for each new case in the boys' court, and all the cards of a repeater were clipped and filed together. At each interview the boy's name was looked up in the files to obtain his previous record. All cards for each boy were handed to the judge at the hearing. If a case was continued for an examination by the psychopathic laboratory that fact was entered on the card. No diagnosis was re-

corded by the social-service department beyond, in a few cases, the report of the laboratory as to whether or not the boy was committable to an institution for the feeble-minded.

Reports of investigations and of situations developing during supervision of a boy were said to be filed with the index cards of the social-service department. Only 13 such reports were found, however, in all the cases looked up in the files in the course of this study, covering 909 boys, many of them with a number of separate cases and cards. Six of the 13 were from private agencies, 1 was from the probation department, 3 were from police officers, and 3 were from the social-service department. In other cases letters from families, employers, and school officials were filed.

PSYCHOPATHIC LABORATORY

Establishment.

The development of a scientific laboratory was planned as early as 1909, when in the third annual report of the municipal court reference was made to a report of a committee of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology on a system for recording sociological, medical, and psychological data regarding criminals. The plan presented had been developed by Dr. William Healy, then director of the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute of Chicago, and was advocated by the municipal-court judges. Social workers cooperated with the judges in endeavoring to secure a laboratory which was first projected as an adjunct to the boys' court, the establishment of the boys' branch being delayed so that the laboratory might be attached to it. The psychopathic laboratory opened May 1, 1914.

Functions and staff.

From the beginning the laboratory served not only the boys' branch but all branches of the municipal court. The director believed that this enlargement of the laboratory made possible better study of "the problem of the delinquent, both in its individualistic and general aspects." As stated in the eighth and ninth annual reports of the municipal court, defendants and sometimes witnesses suspected of being insane, feeble-minded, or afflicted with mental ailments, who came before any of the branches of the municipal court, but especially from the boys' court, morals, domestic-relations, and unspecialized criminal branches, were referred to the laboratory.

The staff of the laboratory had never been large. At the time of the study it consisted of three persons—the director, his wife, and another assistant. Naturally, with so small a staff and so broad a scope, it could examine only a small proportion of the cases passing through the courts. The director, who resigned in 1929 after having been in charge of the laboratory throughout its history, had had training in European psychopathic and neurological clinics.

Cases examined.

At the time of the study appointments for examinations had to be made at least several days in advance. The judges selected the cases to be examined. One judge of the boys' court stated that he sent obviously degenerate boys to the laboratory, and that in the numerous cases which on casual observation did not reveal serious defect he was guided by the previous court record as revealed by the files of the social-service department, sending for examination boys who

had a juvenile record and were repeated offenders. Another judge based his selection upon the appearance of the boys, also taking into consideration their school records and their emotional reactions in court. He stated, however, that many who needed examination were overlooked by this method. Frequently the nature of the offense for which the boy appeared in court was also taken into consideration.

In addition to examining court defendants and witnesses, the laboratory examined a considerable number of persons suspected of insanity who were referred to it by police and other agencies. If diagnosed insane, the patients were sent through the regular channels for commitment. These cases took precedence over other cases. At one time, when the work was very heavy, the laboratory gave precedence to cases from unspecialized branch courts, refusing to examine most of the cases referred by the specialized courts. At another time a specialized branch reported a decided curtailment in the number of cases it referred, due to the overburdened condition of the laboratory.

Method of examination.

As no detailed reports were given to the courts, it was impossible to judge how much general and social information was obtained in the course of the psychiatric examination. No field investigation was made. According to municipal-court reports, medical examinations, including laboratory tests, were given as the cases demanded. General mental tests and the Binet-Simon, Rossalino, psychological profile method, the graduated, free, and controlled association tests, and analysis-synthesis tests were given more or less as a matter of routine and were evaluated both quantitatively and qualitatively. Others, including the De Sanctis, were mentioned. The director stated in an interview that all reliance was placed in the tests, none on outside investigation, but that from the results of the tests past behavior could be reconstructed and future behavior could be foreseen. This process, which constituted the "world test," was an attempt to evaluate the reactions of patients to environment, their capability of adjustment, including their failures and successes at home, in school, at work, and their entire career from early years to the present. In a report in 1920 the examination was described as in every case embracing physiological, neurological, psychological, anthropological, hereditary, and environmental data. Descriptions were presented in the 1917 report of the performance or psychomotor tests and of the visual memory tests used not only as intelligence tests but also developed as tests for primary disturbances of the intelligence function and for psychoses. It was reported that the Binet-Simon Intelligence Scale had been found most useful for diagnostic and differential diagnostic purposes.

Reports to the boys' court.

At the time of the study only informal reports, in person to the judge or often by telephone, were made by the laboratory to the boys' court, except when commitment to an institution for the feebleminded had been determined upon. The work of the laboratory was described in 1915 as consisting largely of diagnosis and, so far as

practicable, prognosis. Little help was given through detailed diagnoses, prognoses, and recommendations to guide the judge in his orders or probation and other workers in their treatment of the boy. The entries in the records of the social-service department of the boys' court were merely "committable" or "not committable." At least one judge of a specialized court selected for examination only cases which he felt required commitment.

Reporting laboratory findings orally instead of in writing delayed court procedure and sometimes resulted in confusion of diagnoses and names. On one day in this study when the judge asked for a report on a case it was necessary to telephone four times and to suspend court hearings until the report was received. On another day when a laboratory report was expected in several cases the reporting resulted in such confusion of names and diagnoses that the judge was forced to grant further continuances of all three cases until a day on which the director of the laboratory could be present in court to designate the boy to whom each diagnosis referred. As several commitments to different institutions were involved mistakes would have had serious consequences.

When actual commitment to a State institution for the feebleminded or the epileptic was to be made, the State law provided that the director of the laboratory and another physician must be present as a commission to testify to the boy's mental state.[10]

Number of cases referred by boys' court.

The number of examinations requested by the various judges sitting in the boys' court varied, though the judges observed seemed about equally desirous of obtaining the advantage of the laboratory service. The number of examinations of boys referred by the boys' court is given in the published reports only for the first three years of the laboratory's existence, from May 1, 1914, to April 30, 1917. During this period 2,026 boys were examined, an average of 675 each year. Of these, 1,992 were boys of 17 to 20 years of age, an average of 664 a year. The report of the laboratory states that from April 1, 1914, to July 1, 1917, 18,696 defendants came before the boys' court, so that approximately 10 per cent of the defendants were referred to the laboratory. Among the 909 boys dealt with in 1924 and 1925 in cases studied by the Children's Bureau 16.7 per cent had been referred to the laboratory.

CONDUCT OF CASES[11]

Initiation of case.

A case might be brought into the boys' court on complaint followed by a warrant and apprehension of the defendant, or, as more frequently occurred, the boy might be taken up by the police and charges preferred later. When picked up by the police the boy was taken to the police station, booked either at once or after an interval, and taken to the court for hearing. The court hearing usually took place within a few days after the arrest. The procedure in arrest, examination, commitment, and bail was similar to that in other courts of record. All cases except felonies might be prosecuted on

[10] Ill., Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's), 1927, ch. 23, sec. 352.
[11] Statutory provisions from Ill., Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's), 1927, ch. 37, secs. 358, 382, 406.

information or complaint. Leave to file complaint had to be obtained from the judge in every case. Some judges made it a practice to try all cases brought to court; others ordered charges filed only if the facts appeared to justify the complaint.

Care pending trial.

Instead of being kept in the police station overnight or longer, boys might be released on their promise to be in court on the day of the hearing, or on bond secured by property, or on cash payment. Release on promise to appear, without security, was allowed only in city ordinance cases, when the boy or his family was known to the police. The frequency with which this was done varied with the different police stations.[12] In cases of a misdemeanor or felony such procedure was never followed, detention or security being considered necessary in all cases. Either a cash deposit or security was accepted by the police in all cases except those punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary. The same policy with reference to bail was followed in boys' cases and in adult cases.

Boys kept in the police stations were not separated from adults. The inmates spent most of their time in the large "pens" that adjoined or surrounded the cell blocks. Here the inmates played cards, checkers, and chess. Toilet facilities were available, and part of the pen was partitioned off for bunks where the prisoners slept. The bunks had mattresses but no springs, and cots were furnished when there were too many men for the bunks. The cells were said to be used chiefly for punishment.[13] Each cell was about 6 feet square, contained two small rough seats or benches, and was generally dark and gloomy. Usually only two, three, or four persons were in a cell, though five, six, and even eight men were seen in one cell. This last was only temporary, the officers said; all had been brought in on the same charge.

Police officers would make little comment regarding treatment of boy offenders beyond general statements that it was not rough. According to the statements of the boys interviewed treatment by the police was often good but sometimes seriously objectionable. Complaints of brutal treatment were made most frequently by boys suspected of rather grave offenses from whom confessions were desired.[14] Boys kept in the stations for relatively minor offenses complained mainly of dirt or food or companions.

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[12] Five police stations were visited by an agent of the Children's Bureau and the captains or lieutenants in charge interviewed. Only two instances of this practice were discovered among the 82 boys interviewed in connection with this study.

[13] In a previous investigation, however, it was reported that "mere boys are often detained overnight, sometimes longer, in the same cells with hardened crooks, perverts, alcoholics, dope users, etc." Moreover, overcrowding was found to be very common, and the food was crude, inadequate, and insanitary. Conditions at the detective bureau were said to be much worse than in the precinct stations, which in turn were worse than the county jail. (Beeley, Arthur Lawton: The Bail System in Chicago, p. 31; thesis for the degree of doctor of philosophy, University of Chicago, 1925.)

[14] For a discussion of the "third degree" as practiced in Illinois, see Police and the Third Degree, by Sherman W. Searle, assistant director, Department of Public Welfare of Illinois, in Welfare Magazine, published by the department of public welfare, vol. 17, Nos. 3–4 (April, 1926), pp. 5–9. In this article an editorial in the Saturday Evening Post for Mar. 6, 1926, is quoted at length. See also Police Brutality in Chicago, by Edith Abbott, in The Nation, vol. 114 (Mar. 8, 1922), p. 286, and a case cited in the Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Annual Reports of the Municipal Court of Chicago for the three years Dec. 2, 1917, to Dec. 5, 1920, p. 222. In this case, reported by Dr. William J. Hickson, director of the psychopathic laboratory, it was said that the boy, 17 years of age, had been beaten by a policeman, his eye almost knocked out, and his wrist broken.

Court hearing.

Physical conditions[15].—Boys who had been kept in the police stations were brought to court on the morning set for their cases and put in a room with other boys from police stations, and with boys who, during continuance of their cases, had been kept in the county jail instead of being released on bond. This room, called the "bull pen," was separated from the passage by an iron grating. Interviews with families, lawyers, and occasionally with the judge took place through the bars at the door. The room was unfurnished except for wooden benches against the wall. The walls were ugly—cut and marked up by the boys. The toilet facilities were in a small closet without a door and consisted of running water and a drinking fountain near the outer room, and a toilet behind a wooden partition. The place was dirty. A volunteer worker commented on the opportunity for spread of venereal disease, stating that boys with open sores on their mouths used the drinking fountain and that sometimes a common drinking glass was used. Boys who had been released either on bond or on personal recognizance were in the open court room.

The court room was fairly large and clean. The greater part of the room was occupied by seats for witnesses, defendants, and onlookers, who at times were so numerous that they stood in the aisles and in the open spaces in front of the bench. Visitors, police officers, and lawyers also occupied the jury box to the left of the judge near the wall. The judge sat on a high bench in the front of the room, as in other criminal courts. He did not wear a gown. Back of the court room on the judge's right were his chambers and on his left was the passage leading to the room in which the boys brought in by officers from places of detention awaited hearing and to which they were returned after hearing unless released. Another entrance to this passage was through an iron grating from the general hall of the municipal building. At the end of the passage were small passageways in which were placed desks and a telephone. The court copy of the daily court sheet was kept here, and various officers of the court stayed here when not on more active duty. Beyond these was a small room occupied by the social-service department. The room held three desks for the three workers in the department and files containing the cards of the boys interviewed.

Court attendants.—On the right of the judge and below him during the hearing were bailiffs and clerks. A bailiff called the cases, and clerks kept track of the cases called, entered disposition of each as the judge gave his decision, wrote up the half sheets which were the basis of the municipal-court record, collected fines, recorded fines paid and bonds, made out bonds, received signatures, and performed the usual clerical services in connection with a court.

On the left and right of the judge stood the representatives of the social-service department. One of these had the cards which had been

[15] On May 16, 1929, the Children's Bureau agent visited the new quarters of the boys' court in the Central Police and Courts Building. On the whole the new quarters were as inadequate as the old. The court room was large and no attempt was made to keep persons not concerned with the case being heard separated from those involved in the case. The detention room for boys awaiting hearing was fairly large but was unfurnished except for benches against the walls. The arrangements for the interview between the social-service worker of the court and the boys were even less satisfactory than in the old building.

made out before court giving the boys' statements in answer to the questions asked them, and cards from the department's files if they had been before the court on previous charges. The judges observed made use of these cards frequently to obtain age, juvenile-court record, grade in school, employment, nationality, and previous arrests. They usually listened to and considered the suggestions of the social-service workers, both the clerks and the agency representatives. Because of the very limited facilities for social-service work the suggestions were frequently the result of only superficial acquaintance with the cases.

Procedure.—The court opened at about 10 in the morning and continued in session until the cases on the daily court sheet had been heard. Only one session was held if the cases on the sheet would permit adjournment by 1. Otherwise the court recessed between 12 and 1 for about an hour and a half.

Violations of State laws were prosecuted by an assistant State's attorney, and violations of city ordinances by an assistant prosecuting attorney. An average of 27 new cases a day were heard during 1924 and 1925. The new and continued cases together often brought the number of hearings up to 50 cases a day.

The court tried only nonjury cases, but most defendants waived jury trial. The waiving of jury trial in most cases observed was a mechanical process, the signing of a paper of which no clear explanation was made. When jury trial was demanded the case was transferred to the jury branch of the municipal court.

In the type of court room occupied by the boys' court and under the conditions prevailing as to onlookers, the hearing was almost necessarily similar to those usual in criminal courts. The judges, however, endeavored to make the hearings as much as possible like those customary in juvenile courts. This was noticeable in the tendency of the judges to talk directly to the boys, to appeal to them to confide in the judge, to tell the truth, sometimes to appeal to them by means of sentiment, through their affections, and through their religious beliefs. The judges tended to disregard lawyers appearing for defendants, and the boys frequently seemed handicapped rather than helped by them. A majority did not have lawyers present at the hearings. These methods, which are calculated to obtain the confidence of the boys, are difficult to use, however, in a large public court room. Frequently more people were within easy hearing distance than was necessary because of the bailiff's practice of calling the next case to the front of the court room while one was in progress, with the result that all the persons involved in two cases, sometimes 20 or more, were grouped in front of the judge. A change in this practice and in the arrangement of the court room so that all except persons involved in a case and court officials would be kept farther from the judge's bench would permit more privacy and make possible better results. One judge, even with the handicaps mentioned, secured some privacy by talking in a tone so low that it could not be heard by the general audience and scarcely even in the jury box, but loud enough to reach the boy in front of him. It was noticeable that the judge's example was followed by the participants in the hearing. The treatment accorded the boys by the court attendants, however, was usually rough or indifferent.

DISPOSITION OF CASES

Cases at the first hearing might be continued or disposed of in one of several ways. The defendant might be dismissed without trial if not prosecuted, he might be tried and found not guilty, or he might be found guilty after trial. If not prosecuted, misdemeanor cases were dismissed for want of prosecution or nol-prossed, and quasi-criminal cases were dismissed for want of prosecution or nonsuited. If tried, the defendant was either discharged or found guilty and placed on probation, fined, or sent to a correctional institution. Commitments could be made in quasi-criminal cases only for nonpayment of fine. If unable to pay the fine the defendant was sent to the house of correction, where he served out his fine at the rate of $1.50 a day in a State case (misdemeanor) or 50 cents a day in a quasi-criminal case.[16] Felonies might be dismissed for want of prosecution, nol-prossed, or held for the grand jury, later, if indicted, to be tried in the criminal court. Frequently a felony charge was dismissed and a less serious charge preferred, by direction of the court, so that the case might be disposed of in the boys' court.[17] Occasionally cases were transferred to other courts having jurisdiction.

The proportion of cases discharged was always large. Of all the cases disposed of by the boys' court in 1924 and 1925, 48.8 per cent were discharged and 12.4 per cent were dismissed without trial; 14.6 per cent were felony cases held for the grand jury; in 8.9 per cent the boys were placed on probation; in 4.4 per cent fines were imposed and paid; and in 10.7 per cent the boys were committed to the house of correction, either on sentence or to serve out unpaid fines. (See footnote 1, p. 203.)

Cases might be continued at the request of a party to the case, or because further information was desired by the judge, either examination at the psychopathic laboratory or social investigation, or for a period of supervision. If they were continued for investigation a police officer was sometimes asked to investigate and report, or the judge might ask the probation department or a representative of one of the private cooperating agencies to perform this service. These representatives also were asked frequently to supervise cases. Sometimes a case was continued under this informal supervision for months and then discharged if the boy's conduct had been satisfactory or disposed of in some other way if it had been unsatisfactory. When cases were continued the boys might be either released on bond or detained in the county jail.[18] The usual form of conditional release in the municipal court was a recognizance taken in open court by which it was agreed that if the defendant failed to appear as stipulated the security was forfeited. Recognizance without security, called an individual recognizance, was often taken in the less serious cases. A cash deposit in lieu of other forms of security was used occasionally. The fourth form of bail, the traditional bail bond, was seldom used. This requires a separate procedure to obtain security, whereas a recognizance puts the signer immediately in debt. The

[16] Ill., Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's), 1927, ch. 38, sec. 391, and ch. 24, sec. 832.
[17] Theft of property valued at $15 or more constitutes grand larceny (a felony) in Illinois. (Ill., Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's), 1927, ch. 38, sec. 389.)
[18] Ill., Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's), 1927, ch. 23, sec. 194; ch. 37, sec. 406.

amount of bail for each offense was standardized by rule and practice of the municipal court. The same rules applied to release of boys under 21 as to adults, but the judges observed seemed to use their power of release with discretion, so that boys charged with the less serious offenses were not sent to jail merely because they were unable to furnish bond. For the lighter charges boys unable to furnish security were allowed to sign their own recognizance, or their parents might sign without surety, unless the judge thought that it would be good for the boy to be locked up for a while, or unless the nature of the offense, such as vagrancy, made it improbable that the boy would be located again, or unless the boy was away from home and no other provision for his care seemed to be available. Boys held for the grand jury on felony charges had to furnish security or go to jail. A considerable number of boys, therefore, were sent to the county jail as the only available place of detention. (See p. 63.)

In the disposition of cases the judges observed appeared not only to be ready fully to carry out the law but also to be intent upon making decisions and ordering treatment that would be of the greatest benefit to each boy as an individual and in his relations to society. They were hampered in their efforts by lack of facilities for obtaining information concerning the character and circumstances of the boy as well as by lack of proper agencies for treatment.

PROBATION [19]

Legal requirements governing probation.

Under the Illinois law a boy not previously convicted of a felony or of petit larceny or of embezzlement may be placed on probation if found guilty of violating a municipal ordinance or of any criminal offense except murder, manslaughter, rape, kidnapping, willful and corrupt perjury or subornation of perjury, arson, larceny and embezzlement where the amount taken or converted exceeds $200, incest, burglary of an inhabited dwelling, or conspiracy. The judge must be satisfied that there is reasonable ground to expect reformation of the defendant and that the interests of society will be served. The term of probation—not to exceed six months for violation of a municipal ordinance and one year for violation of a State law—and other conditions are fixed by the judge. Before granting probation, except in cases of nonsupport and contributing to delinquency, dependency, or neglect, the judge must require the probation officer to ascertain the residence, occupation, and previous court record of the defendant, and he may ask for additional information. The conditions of release on probation are as follows: (1) The probationer shall not violate any criminal law of the State or any city ordinance; (2) if convicted of a felony or a misdemeanor he shall not leave the State without the consent of the court; (3) he shall report once a month or as often as the court may direct concerning his whereabouts, conduct, employment, and whatever else the court or probation officer may require; and (4) he shall enter into a

[19] In addition to the sources noted in footnote 7, p. 39, the principal sources for this section are Ill., Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's), 1927 (ch. 38, secs. 785–787, 789–793), the annual reports of the adult probation department, and appropriation bills of Cook County and the city of Chicago.

recognizance for compliance with these conditions. The court may add one or more of the following conditions of probation: Payment of restitution to injured or defrauded persons, payment toward the support of those dependent upon him, subject to the supervision of the court, or payment of court costs and fine, if any, during the continuance of the period of probation. If any of these conditions is broken a warrant may be issued for the arrest of the probationer. He may be brought before the court for violation of his probation, and his probation may be terminated, judgment entered, and sentence imposed upon the original conviction; or the judge may discharge him from arrest and recommit him to the care of the probation officer. Upon the termination of the probation period the probation officer must report to the court the conduct of the probationer, and the court may discharge the probationer from further supervision or extend the period for a second similar period. Probation periods are not extended more than once.

Probation department.

Organization.—Boys were placed on probation to officers of the adult probation department, which served all the criminal branches of the circuit, superior, and municipal courts. The law establishing this department became effective July 1, 1911. The department was under the control of the judges of the three courts, who made general rules governing the department and appointed the chief probation officer. Half the other probation officers were appointed by the judges of the circuit and superior courts for the county, and half by the judges of the municipal court for the city. The compensation paid to the chief probation officer was fixed by the judges, approved by the board of county commissioners and by the city council, and paid by the county and the city in equal portions. Compensation of officers appointed by the circuit and superior court judges was determined by the board of county commissioners and paid by the county, and that of officers appointed by the municipal court was determined by the city council and paid by the city. The salaries, however, were limited by statute to $6,000 a year for the chief probation officer and $2,400 a year for the other officers. Salaries of the clerical workers in the department were fixed by the county board and paid by it.

Staff.—In 1924 and 1925, the period covered by the study, the positions provided by the appropriation acts included a chief probation officer, first and second assistant chief probation officers, 7 clerks, and (in 1924) 30 probation officers. In 1925 the number of probation officers had been increased to 34. Of the 37 executives and officers on the pay roll during part or all of 1924, 25 were men and 12 were women; and of the 39 on the 1925 pay roll, 24 were men and 15 were women.

In 1924 the chief probation officer received $5,000, the first assistant, $2,700, the second assistant $2,599.92, the 14 county officers $2,400 each, and each of the 16 city officers $2,200 a year. The salaries remained the same in 1925, except that each field officer received $2,400 a year. The 16 officers paid by the city were reimbursed for the cost of their transportation in the field, but the officers paid by the county were not. In 1926 increases were voted by the county board so that officers paid by the county received $10 a month

more than the city officers. This made up the transportation expense to the officers but was considered less satisfactory from the point of view of administration. The total salary budget for the probation department was $92,645 in 1924, $104,944 in 1925, and $116,833 in 1926.[20]

Probation officers were not subject to civil service, but those paid by the county were appointed from an eligible list obtained through examination held at the direction of the judges of the circuit and superior courts. No examination had been held for officers paid by the city. The law required only that a probation officer should be reputable and at least 25 years old. The chief probation officer had authority to suspend any probation officer for a period of not more than 30 days but could not discharge him. Charges against the suspended officer had to be filed with the judges appointing him, and the judges investigated and acted upon the charges. Discipline is difficult under these conditions.

The importance of having officers of the right type is shown by statements of boys interviewed in connection with this study. Clement Dunne (see p. 158) was a boy who might have responded to a person of fine sensibilities, keen insight, and resourcefulness but who under the officer to whom he was assigned felt merely a deeper humiliation and hopelessness. Arthur Baumann (see p. 200), on the other hand, thought that his officer did him more good than anyone else he had ever known and was carrying on successfully after his probation had terminated.

Functions.—As defined by law the duty of the chief probation officer was to supervise and control the work of all subordinate probation officers, subject to the rules adopted by the judges, and to supervise the conduct of probationers to such extent as the rules direct. The probation officers were directed by law to investigate the case of any person to be placed on probation and notify the court of any previous conviction for crime or previous probation; to preserve complete and accurate records of cases investigated, including a description of the person investigated, the action of the court with respect to his case and his probation, the subsequent history of such person, if he becomes a probationer, during the continuance of his probation; and to take charge of and watch over all persons placed on probation, giving to each probationer full instructions as to the terms of his release upon probation and requiring from him such periodical reports as shall keep the officer informed as to his conduct.

Assignment of cases and case loads.—Cases were assigned to officers according to districts, and boys were assigned to a woman officer if they lived in her district. Each officer to whom probationers were assigned had a district, and in most instances the officer also had a court assigned to him. The court and the district might not be connected. In unspecialized courts the officers worked in pairs, each being assigned to a court for 15 days of each month. While assigned to court duty the officer spent the time he was not in court in the office doing clerical work in connection with his records of investigation

[20] In 1927 the salary of the chief probation officer was $5,500, the first assistant received $2,820, the second assistant $2,712, the probation officers paid by the city $2,400, and probation officers paid by the county $2,520, including $120 a year allowed for transportation.

and supervision. The officer attended all sessions of the court and obtained the necessary information from each person placed on probation and each person for whom the judge requested an investigation. This information was sent to the probation office, and cases were then assigned to the officers. Investigations were assigned to officers detailed solely to this work—two during 1924 and 1925 and four in 1927. The supervising officers appeared at court hearings in most cases of violation of probation and might be called on to testify. In the boys' court, the officer in regular attendance usually handled these cases.

On December 1, 1926, 31 of the 33 supervising officers had court duty as well. The two officers who had no court duty had 178 and 188 cases, respectively, under their supervision, and the average case load of the 31 officers with court duty was 127. Only 12 of these had less than 100 cases assigned to them. Of the other 19, 9 had between 100 and 150 cases, 7 had between 150 and 200 cases, and 3 had 200 cases or more under supervision. The largest number of cases (235) was assigned to a negro officer—a woman—working in a negro district. The chief probation officer believed that no officer should be responsible for more than 100 cases, the number to be smaller if he gave only part time to supervisory work.

Court attendance.—Only one probation officer was assigned to the boys' court. He had only a small number of probationers, as the court sessions he had to attend took a large part of each day. He reported information regarding probationers and cases to be investigated to the probation office. This information, entered on a form entitled "Information for Investigations," was given to the officer to whom the investigation was assigned. If completely filled out it included the following data: Name of defendant; age; charge; out on bond or in jail; civil condition; nationality; occupation; present address, how long; previous addresses, how long; names, ages, and addresses of father, mother, husband, wife, brothers, sisters; school, name of last, what grade, age at leaving; court record, date of arrest, charge, disposition, judge; work, name of firm, address, kind of work, name of foreman, when employed, how long (space for several jobs); general information; mental and physical condition.

Investigation.—During the time of this study the probation department was frequently not called upon by the judge to make investigations before a boy was placed on probation. Possibly for this reason boys not legally entitled to probation were occasionally placed on probation. Investigations were frequently made by representatives of private agencies. According to the reports of the adult probation office, investigations by that office had been made in the cases of 447 of the 536 boys placed on probation by the boys' court and discharged from probation during 1924, and in 536 of a corresponding group of 854 boys discharged in 1925. Thus investigations by the probation department had been made in the cases of 70.7 per cent of the boys discharged from probation during 1924 and 1925. This is a much larger proportion than that found by the Children's Bureau in its study of selected boys' court cases. Among these cases only 41.1 per cent of those placed on probation and 51.5 per cent of those discharged from probation before the end of the study had

been investigated. Each investigating officer made an average of 61.5 investigations a month in 1924 and 41.3 a month in 1925.

The following points were covered in the investigation: (1) Previous court record, for which the officer visited the office of the secretary of police and obtained charge, disposition, name of judge, and dates of all previous cases; (2) home conditions and general reputation of the boy, for which the officer visited the home and neighbors, who were considered an important source of information; (3) school history, gathered from the family, and, if the boy was under 19 years, checked by a visit to the school; (4) employment history, always checked with employer, by visit, telephone, or letter; (5) juvenile-court history, for which records were searched if it was known that the boy had a record; (6) previous adult probation records. No use was made of the social-service exchange nor of records of social agencies during either investigation or supervision. This policy was adopted at the suggestion of the judges. Home conditions included name, age, and occupation of all members of the family, description of the cleanliness, size, and general aspect of the house, character of the neighborhood, relation of the boy to the members of the family, and his standing in the home and neighborhood. Teachers of boys out of school less than two years were considered sources of information about the boy. School information was expected to include the name of the school last attended and the grade completed. Work history included name of last and long-time employers, time in each job, ability and record in each, and reason for leaving. In spite of this comprehensive plan of investigation the facts presented in the report of the investigators were objective only. Little information was given that would lead to an understanding of personality problems, and little material was presented on which constructive work could be based or individual treatment planned.

If no investigation was requested before the boy was placed on probation no detailed investigation was made at any time. Sometimes the supervising officer entered a short description on his report sheet, such as "living with parents, 6-room house, owned, clean, well furnished, good neighborhood."

Supervision.—At the time of the Children's Bureau study, when a boy was placed on probation the judge usually said to him: "Talk to this man (the probation officer) and do as he tells you." The officer attending court then was expected to tell the boy when and where to report. Little explanation was given by the judge, and particular conditions were seldom laid down. The probation office, in formulating conditions of probation, considered only those that were important in all cases: Employment, payment of costs and restitution if that had been ordered by the judge, and refraining from violating the law. Individual plans were not worked out for individual cases. Little or no consideration was given to the boy's recreational needs. Occasionally an effort was made to modify home conditions or neighborhood influences. Attention was always given to employment, and help was given in finding work if the probationer was not employed.

Probationers were required to report to the probation office in all cases, usually in person at the main office. The office was kept open

every Monday evening so that working boys might report without interfering with their working hours. Each officer was on duty on one Monday evening each month, and each probationer reported on the particular Monday on which his supervising officer was in the office. The officers sat at desks in the large receiving room. Each probationer came up to the desk and was questioned individually, but a line of other probationers might be directly behind him waiting to report. The interview consisted mainly of questions as to whether the probationer had a job or was looking for one, where he was employed, how much he earned, and where he lived. This information was entered anew on a card each time he reported. According to the chief probation officer the principal value of the report was psychological, in that the probationer was made to realize by the card and report that he was under supervision. Since the home visits of the supervising officer were made during the day when information could be secured only from relatives of men working by day, this personal report was the only accurate means of knowing that the boy was in town.

The supervising officer was supposed to visit the home of each probationer once a month. Anyone at home at the time of the call, which might be made at any time during the day, was asked the same questions that were asked of the probationer himself at the time of his report.

Several times a year the chief probation officer looked over the typed reports of each officer and at irregular intervals heard oral reports of the officers on all cases under their supervision. These reports were routine, as the officers were expected to adhere to the general plan laid down for all cases. The testimony of the probationers interviewed showed that some officers gave supervision which was much more adequate than the routine prescribed and which included services not reported on the records.

The inadequacy of these methods of probation in cases where home conditions were unsatisfactory or change of environment was needed is apparent in the following story:

> William was placed on probation for a second term before the expiration of the first. During the first term of one year the record in the probation office shows six reports by William to the office, eight visits to the home by the officer, and a card sent to an employment agency in regard to work for the boy. During the second term of six months three reports by William and five visits by the officer are the only activities recorded. The only activities of the officer recalled by the family a year and a half later, in connection with this study, were visits, "talking nice to William," and help in finding employment. Yet at each of the five calls made by the Children's Bureau agent, drinking, vulgarity, and the presence of undesirable visitors were observed, and there was no evidence of any improvement in the general behavior of the boy.

Another case which illustrates the failure of this method is that of Clement Dunne (p. 158). In some cases, on the other hand, the routine method seems to keep the probationer from committing further offenses. (See case 15, p. 152.)

At the end of the probation period, if the conditions had been observed—that is, if all costs or restitution ordered by the court had been paid and there had been no further delinquency resulting in a court charge—the probation office recommended to the court that the probationer be discharged. If these conditions had not been lived up to, especially if the probationer had not paid all costs or restitution

ordered, the judge might extend the term for a second period, not to exceed a year. A probationer who failed to report or who committed a misdemeanor might be considered to have violated probation and might be brought into court on that charge, to be sentenced upon the original finding or recommitted to the care of the probation officer. Sometimes even though the terms of probation had been broken by slight infractions of the law or by failure to pay all money due, the boy was discharged by the court at the end of his term. In these cases the results of probation were considered "unsatisfactory" by the probation office and were so recorded, as were cases of probationers who had been sentenced, those who had been lost to the department, and those on probation for a misdemeanor or a felony who had left the State without permission of the court, an act that automatically terminated probation.

Records.—The probation department kept the following records of cases: (1) History sheet, which showed the facts already described at the time the boy was put on probation; (2) receipts for payments ordered by the court and made through the probation office, slips sent with the check to the person reimbursed, and copies of slips to employers recommending boys for jobs; (3) copy of the investigation if one was requested by the judge before disposition; (4) sheet containing short statements of the reports and visits made during the period of probation. The sheet showing reports and visits contained the following identification data: Name of probationer, address, charge, length of probation, court docket number, and name of supervising officer. It also contained a chronological record of reports made to the office by the probationer and of visits made by the officer, the entry for each report or visit showing the date, whether or not the boy was working, his wages, and whether or not he was apparently doing well. The fact that a visit was made at the home was recorded each time, even when no one was found at home, and this was apparently considered sufficient for that month, as no other attempt was recorded until the next month. The chief probation officer stated that more work was done on many cases than appeared on the records, as the officers did not appreciate the necessity of making detailed records.

Probation standards.

Standards of probation work with persons over juvenile-court age[21] are presented in a report of the work of the probation bureau of the court of general sessions, the higher criminal court of New York City, which was established and was supported for two years by the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York, being taken over by the public on January 1, 1927. As the court of general sessions handled only felony cases, cases of indicted misdemeanors, or cases in which the charge was reduced from felony to misdemeanor, the probation bureau was limited to these classes of cases.

As outlined in the budget submitted to the judges at the time the bureau became a public office, and adopted with certain modifications, the staff was to consist of 67 persons—a chief probation officer

[21] Cooley, Edwin J.: New Goals in Probation. Published by the State Probation Commission, Albany, 1926. Mr. Cooley says (p. 35) that of those appearing before the court of general sessions on felony charges from Jan. 1, 1925, to Sept. 1, 1926, 43.5 per cent were 16 to 20 years of age.

with a salary of $7,500 a year, 2 deputies with salaries of $5,000 each, 36 probation officers with minimum salaries of $3,000 a year, and an adequate clerical staff. The total budget was $210,672.25.[22] All probation officers were college graduates with experience in various branches of social work. The work of the probation officers was carefully supervised. Daily bulletins on standard probation service, probation manuals, staff conferences on specific problems and difficult cases, conferences between investigators and case supervisors, and reading assignments and discussion of such subjects as criminology and mental hygiene were used as a means of improving the quality of the probation service.

Preliminary investigation was required in every case before sentence was passed. Each investigating officer was made responsible for the completion of only 12 investigations a month. Only in carefully selected cases were the offenders placed on probation. The average period of probation was three years and was followed by friendly supervision. No probationer was discharged from supervision until his adjustment was considered permanent.

Individual, scientific social case work was the standard of supervision. Each supervising officer was responsible for only 50 cases, assigned on the district plan. The probationer had to report to the office once a week if employed, daily if unemployed. The office was open five nights a week to receive reports. Each officer received his probationers in a private office, and haste was unnecessary. At least two visits a month (more if desirable) were made to the home of each probationer, and one visit a month was made to his place of employment.[23]

The investigation included in every case a social diagnosis according to the following plan:[24]

Subject	Sources
1. Diagnosis of environment:	
A. Legal history—	
Previous court record.	Inquiry at 13 different places (in absence of central bureau of criminal identification) and the juvenile court; also other cities and countries; finger-print system used.
Study of the offense.	Interview with complainant, arresting officer, police officers of defendant's district, prosecuting attorney, and any accomplices.
B. Social history—	Interview with defendant, employers, labor-union officials, fellow workmen, friends and companions, and medical authorities (concerning drug, sex, and alcohol habits).
Personal history.	
Education and early life.	
Family and neighborhood conditions.	
Employment history.	Records of social-service exchange, agencies and institutions, school (including physical and mental examinations), financial organizations, workmen's compensation bureau, Army, Navy, and Immigration; also seaman's papers.
Recreation.	
Habits and associates.	
Religious observances and training.	
Mitigating or aggravating circumstances of the offense.	Visit to home.

[22] About 3,000 cases were investigated in a period of 23 months. Cooley, Edwin J.: Probation and Delinquency, p. 85. New York, 1927.

[23] There may be some difference of opinion as to the desirability of visiting places of employment of probationers except when special conditions require such visits.

[24] Probation and Delinquency, p. 59.

Subject	Sources
2. Diagnosis of personality:	
Heredity.	Records of psychiatric, psychological, medical clinics.
Physical condition.	
Mental capacity, traits, and interests.	Interviews with family, teachers, employer, neighbors, and priests and clergymen.
Emotions.	
Sentiments and beliefs.	
Character and conduct.	
Manner and appearance.	

3. Summary of diagnosis—report to the court:
   - A complete picture of the offender and the offense.
   - A sound basis for disposition of the problem.
   - Treatment required: Probation or commitment to reformatory, penal, or custodial institution.

The basic principles in the supervision of probationers were: (1) That the process of adjustment or the supervisory treatment had to be individualized carefully to meet the needs of each delinquent; (2) that the object of every phase of the process was the permanent rehabilitation of the delinquent. Supervision was a process of intensive reeducation and adjustment. It was "social case work with the added power of the law behind it." "To break down the social isolation of the probationer, to divert his antisocial tendencies into channels of orderly behavior, to direct a redistribution of energy and interest, to return him to the common path of normal men, and to bring about socialization within himself and the community" were the objects of probationary supervision. This process included the following elements:[25]

1. Formulation of plan of adjustment.
   - Examination of all papers in case.
   - Explanation of purposes and conditions of probation to probationer.
   - Consultation with—
     - Case supervisor.
     - Physician.
     - Psychologist.
     - Psychiatrist.
   - Visit to—
     - Home.
     - Family.
     - Friends.
     - Place of employment.
   - Conference with probationer.
   - Possible revision of plan at least once a month.
2. Acceptance of plan by probationer.
   - Gaining confidence and admiration.
   - Realization of problems and motives by probationer.
   - Removal of antisocial attitude.
   - Presenting new visions and goals.
   - Permitting trial and error.
3. Social adjustment (involving development of social relationships).
   - Family adjustment.
   - Neighborhood improvement.
   - Financial independence.
     - Right job for future career.
     - Budgeting and thrift.
   - Constructive recreation.
   - Restoration of social status.

[25] New Goals in Probation, pp. 38–65.

4. Personality development.
   - Holding up ideal of self.
   - Physical rehabilitation.
   - Discipline and self-control.
   - Character building.
   - Emotional adjustment.
   - Academic and vocational education.
   - New resources and outlets.
   - Regaining self-respect.
   - Social consciousness.
   - Appearance and manner.
   - Religious development.
   - The long look ahead (that is, preparation for life after the probation period).
5. Tendencies avoided.
   - Subtle antagonisms.
   - Too close supervision.
   - Impatience with relapses.
   - Objective case work.

The weekly reports of the probationer were used for stimulation of a sympathetic and invigorating relationship and for discussion of intimate and perplexing problems, influencing his beliefs, attitude, and conduct by advice and exhortation. Visits were made by the officer regularly twice a month and whenever the probationer failed to report. The probationer was required to report regularly to the officer regarding his health, recreation, associates, church attendance, and school progress. This was calculated to engender a sense of responsibility, regularity of habits and conduct, and respect for authority.

It is obvious that with the probation staff available in Chicago this type of supervision of probationers was impossible.

CRIMINAL COURT AND ITS ASSOCIATED AGENCIES [26]

JURISDICTION AND ORGANIZATION

Boys accused of felonies were given a preliminary examination in the boys' court branch of the municipal court. The judge might find the evidence against the defendant insufficient and discharge him, or he might dismiss the felony charge but find him guilty and sentence him on a less serious charge. When probable cause was found by the municipal-court judge the boy was held for the grand jury. The grand jury heard the evidence in support of the bill of indictment and found it either a true bill or not a true bill. If a true bill was not found the boy was released. In many cases the bill of indictment contained several charges, and if the grand jury found a true bill as to any charge the boy was held for trial in the criminal court.

The grand jury consisted of a full panel of 23 persons, 16 of whom were sufficient to constitute a grand jury; 12 members might find a bill of indictment "true" or "not true." No one could be held to answer for a criminal offense punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary except after indictment by the grand jury.[27]

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[26] Statutory provisions from Ill., Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's) 1927, ch. 78, secs. 16 and 17; ch. 38, sec. 701; ch. 37, sec. 166; ch. 34, sec. 64; ch. 14, sec. 5.

[27] Constitution of 1870 of Illinois, Art. II, sec. 8.

The criminal court is composed of judges of the superior and circuit courts, one of whom acts as chief justice and assigns cases to the other judges. The powers of the court are the same as those of the circuit court. The court has exclusive original jurisdiction of all criminal offenses in Cook County except such as is conferred upon the municipal court, and appellate jurisdiction from the municipal court.

At the time of this study small nonjury cases were usually tried by the chief justice and jury cases by the other judges. Although the cases disposed of by the chief justice included many boys' cases, these cases might be heard by any judge.

INVESTIGATIONS BY COOK COUNTY BUREAU OF SOCIAL SERVICE

During the period of the study the Cook County Bureau of Social Service maintained a jail division to investigate the cases of boys 17 to 20 years of age detained in the county jail while awaiting action of the grand jury (except those charged with rape or murder). In 1926 this social-service bureau was reorganized and became part of the new Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, the director of which had been the chief probation officer of the juvenile court. The reorganization had not affected the jail work of the bureau up to the time when material for this report was gathered.

The three investigators assigned to jail work, like all other employees of the bureau, were appointed by the president of the Board of Commissioners of Cook County, in acordance with the rules of the county civil-service board. The requirements for these positions were residence in Cook County for one year, minimum age of 21 for men and 18 for women, and physical and moral fitness for the work.[28] None of the 15 investigators who were employed in the bureau of social service in 1925 had graduated from college, and several had not finished the eighth grade. Moreover, the last eligible list was obtained in 1917, and only 8 of the 16 persons assigned to social-service work had been certified, the others having been appointed as temporary employees from outside the list. The senior investigator at the jail received $168 a month, and the other two investigators $150 a month.

The chief object of the work in the jail was to inform the judge of the social background of the youthful offender; a subsidiary and seldom-achieved object was to perform services for the boy and his family. The information was obtained in part through an interview with the boy in jail, during which the senior investigator obtained data regarding the composition of the family, several of the boy's recent long-time employers, the school and grade last attended, occupation at the time of arrest, and the boy's story of the current difficulty. One of the other investigators visited the home to ascertain home conditions and obtained the boy's record from the juvenile court and the boys' court records. Letters were sent to the school last attended and to employers. The reports of the jail interview and of the field investigation were consolidated and placed on the judge's desk on the day of the hearing.

The program of the division included some follow-up work, but this was seldom done during the years covered by this study. If

[28] Cook County Civil Service Laws and Rules, 1914, p. 20, R. II.

the boy was sentenced to an institution it was planned to make a call at his home to see if his family required assistance, and if so to refer it to the proper social agency. If the boy was sentenced to the house of correction it was planned to call on him one or two weeks before his release and to try to obtain for him a job and a proper place to live, if his home was not suitable. This was not considered necessary if the boy had been sentenced to an institution with parole service.

STATE'S ATTORNEY'S OFFICE

The State's attorney was responsible for presenting evidence to the grand jury and for prosecuting cases in which indictments had been returned. A social-service secretary in the State's attorney's office was responsible for investigation of all cases held for the grand jury on charges involving sex offenses. Her staff consisted of three investigators, a policewoman, and a clerk. These workers interviewed the girls bringing the charges or otherwise involved in the case and investigated home, school, and work conditions of defendants, complainants, and witnesses. These reports were presented to the grand jury and were later used in the trial.

JAIL DETENTION AND BAIL

When a judge of the boys' court held a boy for the grand jury he either accepted bail or committed the boy to the county jail. If the grand jury returned a true bill the criminal court fixed bail anew. The policy in regard to releasing boys on bail was identical with the treatment of older men. Figures given in unpublished reports of the jail show that approximately one-fifth of all those received during each year were boys under 21.

METHOD OF CONDUCTING TRIALS

Nonjury cases of boys from 17 to 20 years of age were handled similarly to those in the municipal court, though with somewhat more formality. Witnesses, defendants, lawyers, and complainants stood grouped in front of and below the bench. As there was more space here than in the boys' court those not interested in the case were farther away and knew less of what was going on. The judge wore a robe. Although there was perhaps less direct dialogue between judge and boy, the judge obtained substantially as much information concerning the history of the offense and the boy's character and circumstances. Cases in which application was made for probation were continued for investigation by the probation department. Reports made by probation officers were placed on the bailiff's desk before the rehearing so that the judge might have them before making his decision.

Jury trials were conducted with even more formality. The boys were seated facing and below the judge and were called one at a time to the high witness chair. In the jury trial the judge naturally maintained a more impersonal attitude and had less direct contact with the boys than in the nonjury trials. The examination of the boys as witnesses was usually done in a quiet and reassuring way.

DISPOSITIONS

Cases might be dismissed, nol-prossed, or discharged, or the defendant might be committed to an institution or placed on probation. As in other courts, a probation officer attended all sessions and reported all investigations requested and all cases placed on probation to the main office, where they were assigned to probation officers according to residence.

INSTITUTIONS RECEIVING BOYS ON COURT COMMITMENT

COOK COUNTY JAIL [29]

Boys who were not released on bail during continuance of their cases or while waiting for the grand jury or criminal-court trial were committed to the Cook County jail, which was the only place of detention available. This jail had been recognized for a long time as an unfit place even for adults. In 1922 a survey, made at the request of the Board of Commissioners of Cook County by the Chicago Community Trust, pointed out conditions which still prevailed in large part at the time of this study, for the old jail still remained. Many suggestions made in the survey for improving conditions were adopted, however, and the construction of a new jail with separate quarters for boys was undertaken.[30] Some of the judges recognized the undesirability of such detention and tried to reduce to a minimum the number of boys so detained. Nevertheless, there were always a large number in jail before disposition of their cases, and a few served sentences there. Jail sentences could not exceed one year.

The jail was under the control of the sheriff of Cook County, who appointed a warden and guards. These appointments had been political rather than by merit, but the appointment of a warden on September 1, 1926, was made after examination by a citizens' committee and on its recommendation. A similar method was adopted for appointment of guards. The grand jury and the criminal court were required by law [31] to inquire into the condition of the jail, treatment of prisoners, and acts of the warden. The court might make proper orders against the warden and enforce the orders.[32]

The older part of the present jail was erected in 1874, the so-called "new" part in 1895. The total number of cells was 316, but in 1922 only 264 were available for men and boys. The average daily jail population was 822 in 1924 and 869 in 1925. In seven months of 1925 the average daily population was more than 900. During 1924, 2,657 boys under 21 were admitted, and during 1925, 2,503. In 1927 the warden stated that conditions were the same as they had been for several years and that no additional cells were available.

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[29] In addition to information obtained at first hand by representatives of the Children's Bureau, the principal sources for this section are the Survey of the Cook County Jail made by the Chicago Community Trust in 1922 under the direction of Dr. George W. Kirchwey, annual messages of the president of the board of county commissioners, and annual reports of the superintendent of the jail.

[30] A bond issue to provide for a new jail was approved by the voters of Cook County Feb. 24, 1925. This jail was occupied Feb. 15, 1929.

[31] Ill., Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's), 1927, ch. 75, secs. 26–28.

[32] Idem.

The 1922 survey showed that the overcrowding resulted in bad health conditions and lowered moral tone. Filthy talk and practices, homosexual vice, and corruption of young boys were said to be common in the crowded cells and bull pens. Dope could be secured by anyone. Newcomers were mauled and robbed. Some attempt was being made at that time to segregate drug addicts, persons with venereal diseases, negroes, and young boys, but assignment to cells was chiefly on the basis of charges, size of bonds, and criminal records. The investigators in 1922 found little real classification separating different types of prisoners, but instead found forced association of the young with the old, the clean-minded with the vicious and depraved, the first offender with the prisoner who had served many sentences.

Both the old and the new jail were composed of blocks of cells placed one over the other. The new jail had seven stories and the old four. The cells were open at one end only, and this was covered by a barred grating. They had no windows, and the artificial-ventilation system was unsatisfactory. In the new jail the cells were 10 by 5 by 7½ feet, and in the old, 8 by 6 by 8 feet. Both lacked by 120 cubic feet or more the 500 cubic feet considered necessary for one man when there is cross ventilation. The exercise yard, or bull pen, was between the two blocks of cells in the new jail and at one side of the block of cells placed back to back in the old jail. This yard was 17 by 65 feet in the new and 19 by 118 feet in the old jail.

In 1922 each cell had a small washbasin with running water, a stationary toilet, and two or three bunks protruding from the wall, one over the other. Each man had a straw mattress, a blanket, a sheet, a pillow slip, and a towel. Some of the men did not have a bed, but placed their mattresses on the cement floor. In 1924 enough triple-decked beds were installed to provide for all without sleeping on the floor. The beds were the only seats available. Light in some cells came only from a single electric bulb outside the cell.

The bull pens were reported in 1922 as being poorly ventilated, poorly lighted, and hot in summer. They had no furniture and were greatly overcrowded. The cramped quarters permitted little real exercise. An open drain at one end was used as a urinal.

The jail was dirty, according to the 1922 survey. Cells were seldom, if ever, thoroughly cleaned; the floors of corridors and bull pens, though washed daily by a squad of prisoners, were not well cleaned, and refuse was thrown from the cells into the bull pens. Blankets were not washed for months or years, and sheets and pillow slips were changed only once a week, even in the receiving cells where six men might use the same ones.

The men ate in their cells, the food being served in a very unappetizing manner, though improvements have been attempted since 1922.

Many other conditions were considered harmful from the medical point of view: The superficial character of the examinations of the incoming prisoners and the lack of any subsequent examinations; the total lack of information as to mental condition; the monotonous, repellent, and unbalanced character of the diet, with an absence of fresh vegetables, almost complete lack of sugar, milk, and butter or butter substitutes. Because of the character of the food furnished

by the county a private store in the jail did a large business supplying food, especially sweets. Vermin constituted a serious menace to the health of inmates. The usual danger of these was enhanced by the lack of provision by the county for hair cuts and shaves, and by the lack of adequate sterilization of clothing. On their entrance to jail the men or boys were given a bath, but they were given back their old clothing, sometimes without sterilization. Both medical and hospital facilities were considered inadequate; and, though improved by the adoption of some of the suggestions of the survey, including a venereal-disease clinic under the direction of the Chicago Health Department inaugurated April 12, 1923, they remained inadequate.

One great difficulty in the jail was idleness. Only sentenced men were put to work, and most of the prisoners were merely awaiting trial. The sentenced men were used to scrub floors, to deliver the meals, collect the food, search bundles, and help in the bakery, kitchen, laundry, and hospital. The others, however, at the time of the 1922 survey, were allowed no occupation of any kind during any part of the day. In 1923 marching, setting-up exercises, and games were instituted, the daily program calling for 3 hours and 40 minutes of physical exercise and 1 hour of mental instruction. By 1924 the hours in the exercise space had been increased to 5½. A library was installed June 21, 1923, which had more than 1,600 books and 4,000 magazines within a few months after it was opened.

The daily routine, as described in the 1922 survey, with the improvements of 1923, was as follows: 6.30—rise, dress, wash at basin in cell, make beds; 7.30—breakfast of coffee with "little milk and no sugar" and an "unnutritious roll," served in the cell (after January 5, 1923, cereal was added and 3 ounces of milk); 9.15—"exercise" in the bull pen; 11.45—back to cells, dinner in cells, consisting of corned-beef hash and peas and two pieces of bread or of white beans, potatoes, carrots, and bread, or a similar menu; 1.15—another exercise period in the bull pen; 3.45—back to cells, supper consisting of soup or coffee and bread, but since May 20, 1923, of stewed fruit, coffee, and bread; 9.30—lights out.

Men might receive visitors twice a week during exercise hours, and write as many letters as they wished. They bathed once a week outside their cells and were present at religious services in the bull pen on Sunday. Thus the weeks passed with no out-of-doors period, many of the inmates never even seeing the sun during a long detention period.

The 1922 survey reported that the younger boys were separated from the other prisoners during the "exercise period" by release into a room known as the "school room," though not used for instruction. This was a large room with outside windows. In March, 1924, a school was provided for these boys, a teacher being assigned by the board of education, who gave individual instruction in this room. At that time this instruction reached only 30 of the 200 boys usually in the jail. When the jail was visited in connection with this study in 1927, it was stated that 70 to 80 boys were under instruction. These were usually the boys of 17 and 18 years who were assigned to the top floor of the jail and who were given their exercise period in this room. Part of the time was devoted to setting-up

exercises under instruction and to games of checkers or hand ball, and part to school or art work.

The warden, when interviewed in 1927, stated that conditions in the main were the same as had been described in earlier annual reports. Three and four men and boys were still assigned to a single cell hardly large enough for one person. There was little separation of the boys from the older offenders. Hospital facilities and examinations were the same as in earlier years. Meals were still served in the cells.

HOUSE OF CORRECTION

The boys' court sentenced boys in largest numbers to the house of correction. This institution, also known as the Bridewell, was maintained by the city under the control of the city council.[33] Persons found guilty of misdemeanors, either by sentence or because of nonpayment of fines imposed by the courts, and persons found guilty on quasi-criminal charges who were unable to pay their fines were sent to it. The former might remain not longer than one year, and the latter not longer than six months.[34] The number of offenders sent to the Bridewell had increased markedly in the past few years, from 8,565 in 1921 to 15,496 in 1924 and 22,023 in 1925.[35]

Boys under 21 were housed in the cell block called the "new cell house," which was more desirable than the older cell blocks. The new cell house had 329 cells, and only one person was placed in a cell. Each cell had a cot, a toilet, and a stationary washbowl with running water. Some cells, used by inmates assigned to clerical work, had a small white desk or table fitted with blue blotting paper, and a desk chair. The cells were ranged against the outside walls so that each cell had a window, strongly barred, opening directly to the outside. A wide corridor down the middle of the building contained long tables and benches used by the inmates at meal time. The few dishes were made of heavy porcelain. The corridor was also used as an assembly hall, a stage being set up at one end where plays were given or pictures were shown to the audience sitting at the dining end of the corridor. Adults were also housed in this cell house, but the boys' cells were together in a separate section. Talking among inmates was allowed. A person in one cell could reach his hand around the separating wall into the next cell and games of checkers were played in this way by the occupants of two cells. Boys ate together but at the same tables as the men. Adult occupants of the new cell house were chosen according to the occupations to which they had been assigned. The cleaner occupations such as printing and baking were given preference over those such as quarrying or work in the rubber shop. It was almost impossible for men working at the dirtier occupations not to bring dirt into the cell house, and apparently less attempt was made to keep the older cell houses clean than the new one, which looked quite spotless.

Assignment of men to their occupations was said by the guard to depend largely upon the needs of the work. All boys, unless they especially requested another form of employment or unless they were particularly "rough" or "hard," worked apart from the men at

[33] Ill., Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's), 1927, ch. 24, sec. 252.
[34] Ill., Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's), 1927, ch. 24, sec. 832.
[35] Annual Report of Hon. William E. Dever, mayor, Nov. 3, 1926, p. 46.

basket making in a room on the second floor of a different building. This room, which was light, clean, and attractive, contained the institution library at one end and a radio. The room was decorated with the completed baskets which were set out to attract purchasers.

Meat was served twice a day on some days and not at all on other days. For example, on Thursday, corned beef and cabbage were served for dinner, and corned-beef hash was served for supper; on Friday, boiled or baked beans for dinner, and bread with maple sirup and tea for supper. This menu differed from the jail menu by having no fruit but usually a heavier dish at night, and tea instead of coffee, and added cocoa at noon. The breakfast of cereal, coffee, and bread was similar to that of the jail.

The daily routine was as follows: 7.30, breakfast; 8 to 11, basket weaving; 11.30, dinner; 11.30 to 1, in cells; 1 to 4, basket weaving; 4, supper; 4.30 p. m. to 7.30 a. m., in cells. Boys were given no exercise except that derived from the short walk between their sleeping quarters and the work room four times a day.

Inmates were allowed to receive only one visit a month, but no limit was set on the number of letters they might receive or send.

The usual routine was varied on Sunday, when the boys were in their cells except for meals and for a church service of about two hours. Each boy had to attend either the Catholic services in the morning or the Protestant services in the afternoon. Christian Science services were held on two Saturday afternoons each month.

Boys were required to take a bath on one afternoon a week. A hospital was maintained in another building to which boys and men were sent when ill.

Boys were not supervised after discharge from the institution. Finding homes and employment for boys of 17 to 20 upon release was planned by the jail division of the bureau of social service but was not carried out because of a lack of workers.

Basket weaving—which seems better suited to younger boys and can have little vocational value for the boys' court age group—was sometimes varied by school work during the morning hours. All the boys attended the school when a teacher was available. The teacher was supposed to be furnished by the board of education, but this service was not always furnished. The school desks were in the boys' work room.

Boys wishing to learn a trade, such as printing or baking, were assigned to such work. This brought them into contact with older men. Moreover, men serving the longer sentences were likely to be assigned to trades that take longer to learn. Printing was learned in the printing shop, in which are printed the institution paper The Corrector and forms for the use of various city departments. Brick-making, cobbling, tailoring, and pottery-making were other occupations.

An occasional show or entertainment was given in the cell house, and an occasional treat of some kind was bought for the boys with money obtained from the sale of their baskets. The playing of games by neighbors and smoking were allowed in cells. Cigarettes, crackers, cookies, and other eatables were kept by the managment and sold at slightly more than cost to the inmates. Books, sent to the institution by the public library, might be obtained in any num-

ber desired from the librarian of the cell house (an inmate), who selected books from the general library to take to the house. Papers and magazines also were sold by the management. Food could not be brought in to inmates from the outside.

STATE REFORMATORY [36]

Boys from 16 to 20 not convicted of a capital offense might be sentenced to the Illinois State Reformatory at Pontiac and usually called "Pontiac," about 90 miles from Chicago, instead of to the State penitentiary or the county jail. This State institution was under the control of the State department of public welfare. Men between the ages of 21 and 26 might also be sentenced under certain conditions and for certain offenses to the reformatory. Few boys were sent to this institution by the boys' court, but more of this age were committed to it by the criminal court. Sentences were for the term provided by law for the offense for which the person was convicted.

The reformatory had 1,310 inmates on June 30, 1925. By State law the inmates between 16 and 21 years of age had to be separated from those between 21 and 26 years of age. Additional segregation had been provided, but officials of the institution said that more segregation was needed than had been possible because of the expense. The segregation desired would have separated the more incorrigible from the other boys and the younger from the older and more sophisticated, in accordance with the recommendation of the psychologist for the State division of criminology who examined incoming boys.

The boys were kept in cells, usually one boy to a cell, although when the reformatory was crowded two were placed in one cell. Each cell had a small window and toilet facilities that were clean but not in good repair. The cells were comfortable although simply furnished. The food seemed to the Children's Bureau agent who visited the school to be plain, wholesome, and well-prepared, although not so palatable as it might have been.

Boys who had not completed the eighth grade of the public schools had to attend school at least half of each school day. Nominally work was required the other half of the day. Although 278 acres surround the institution, it was found difficult to furnish employment for all. The boys themselves complained of the lack of work. Many could not get on the working squads and had no work except cleaning cells.

In good weather the boys had a recreation period of 45 minutes a day when, under the direction of a play director, they played baseball, handball, pushball, and football, and ran races. The school ball team played outside teams. The boys were given military drills on the drill field in the center of the grounds surrounded by buildings and walls. The daily routine of the inmates began at 5.30 in the morning and ended about 4.30 in the afternoon, when they were locked in their cells. The exact hours varied with the

[36] The principal sources for this section, in addition to interviews and visits by bureau agents, are Ill., Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's), 1927 (ch. 38, secs. 801–804; ch. 118, secs. 3 and 9; ch. 127, secs. 53–54b), and the Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare for 1925.

season of the year, so that all cells might be locked before dark. Meals were served in a large dining hall.

In the summer weekly concerts, which were attended by townspeople as well as by the boys, were given on the grounds by the school band and orchestra. A library in the institution furnished books to the inmates, and a weekly paper was published by them. Motion pictures were shown every Saturday during the winter months. Boys who reached a certain grade with a clear record might join the Young Men's Christian Association. The association had 250 members, and the programs of the meetings included the singing of a popular song, talks by boys, debates, and music by the orchestra. Chapel services were held every Sunday, instruction to Catholic inmates every Friday and special Catholic services from time to time, and Jewish instruction was given at intervals.

STATE PENITENTIARY [87]

Boys of 16 and 17 years could be sentenced to the penitentiary only when convicted of murder, manslaughter, rape, robbery, burglary, or arson. Boys 18 years of age and under 21 and, under certain conditions, boys between the ages of 21 and 26, convicted of felonies, punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary, might be committed in the discretion of the court to the reformatory instead of the Illinois State Penitentiary; they had to be sentenced to the latter in cases of capital offenses. The sentences might be 1 to 20 years, or life imprisonment. The penitentiary, like the reformatory, was under the control of the State department of public welfare. It was located at Joliet, 37 miles from Chicago.

The buildings of the penitentiary were in two divisions, the "old prison" at Joliet, and the "new prison" a few miles from the other, at Stateville. There was also a separate institution for women. The "old prison" housed the new inmates and the largest number of prisoners, as the new was not entirely finished. On June 30, 1925, the penitentiary had 2,318 inmates. Of the 783 prisoners, men and women, received at the institution during the year ended September 30, 1926, 97 were under 21 years of age.

The cells in the old prison were double, containing cots that were neat and clean. The cells had small windows, were clean, and contained rude toilet facilities with running water. It was the policy never to place younger men and boys in cells with older men or hardened criminals.

The cell houses of the new prison were circular in shape, the cells being placed tier on tier around the outside wall, leaving a large circular open space, in the center of which was an observation tower from which the guard could see the interior of every cell. Each cell had at one end an outside window which might be raised and lowered, and at the opposite end a grating opening to the center of the building. Each cell had an electric light. The cots appeared comfortable and clean, and modern toilet facilities were provided in each cell. The cells were neat, clean, attractively painted, and

[87] The principal sources for this section, in addition to interviews and visits by bureau agents, are Ill., Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's), 1927 (ch. 38, secs. 759, 801, 803; ch. 108, secs. 4, 10–14; ch. 127, secs. 35, 53); the Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare for 1925; and Statistics, a typed report of the Illinois State Penitentiary, for Sept. 30, 1926.

might be decorated with pictures and personal belongings according to the taste of the occupant. Each cell was used by only one occupant.

Considerable care was exercised in examining and classifying the inmates. The incoming prisoner was placed in the observation ward where the prison physician examined him for contagious diseases, acute or chronic organic diseases, and physical handicaps, vaccinated him, and took his medical history. Bertillon measurements and fingerprints were taken. A psychological, social, and psychiatric study was made by a resident State criminologist. This covered information concerning, first, the man's history, including his heredity, personal development, industrial and economic pursuits, accidents, social interests, and illnesses; second, group intelligence tests, and in case of failure, individual intelligence tests; third, previous court record and present crime. A neurological examination was made and Wassermann tests taken. Results of these studies were then summarized, and special tasks or assignments were sometimes recommended. This routine permitted early sorting of inmates as to intelligence, aptitude, physical condition, and mental reaction. The warden informed the new men of the progressive merit system used in the institution and on the term of imprisonment as a period of training and self-improvement. Further classification was made during the stay in the institution. In spite of efforts to keep the young offender from contact with the confirmed criminal in work as well as in living arrangements, it was not entirely avoided, especially in work.

Meals were served in large dining halls, and no talking was allowed. The food was plain, without much variation from week to week.

The daily routine was as follows: 6 a. m.—rise and clean quarters for inspection; 7.25—breakfast; after breakfast until 10—work as assigned, in shops, at cleaning cells, or extra work; 10.30—dinner; after dinner until 1—in cells; 1 to 3—work; 3—supper. At 4 p m. cells were locked for the night. Games were allowed in the cells, and many inmates had checker boards. Books might be owned, and they were also lent by the prison library. Each inmate was allowed to have visitors once a week. Visitors might leave money in the office for the inmates, with which they bought eatables sold through the prison store at wholesale prices.

PAROLE [38]

All boys sentenced to the State reformatory and to the State penitentiary were eligible for parole at the end of the minimum sentence provided by law for the crime of which each was convicted, good time being allowed as prescribed by rules of the department of public welfare. If sentenced for a definite period a boy was eligible for parole after serving at least one-third of the sentence or 20 years if the sentence was for life. Definite sentences were given only for misprision of treason, murder, rape, or kidnaping.

Paroles were granted by the department subject to rules and regulations made by it, the aim being, as stated in the law, to secure the

[38] Statutory provisions from Ill., Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's) 1927, ch. 38, secs. 801–803, 805, 807, 809, 810; ch. 108, sec. 45.

self-support and reformation of the persons paroled. Certain conditions were prescribed by the statute. Before paroling a prisoner it was the duty of the department to make arrangements or have satisfactory evidence that arrangements had been made for suitable employment and for a suitable home for him, and to provide him with suitable clothing, $10, and transportation to his place of employment. The department was required to keep in communication with all persons on parole and with their employers. A discharge from parole, which had to be approved by the governor of the State, was a release from or commutation of sentence and might be granted at any time after the person had served acceptably six months of his parole. This meant that he had given evidence that he would remain at liberty without violating the law and that his final release was not incompatible with the welfare of society. In practice, monthly reports in writing were required from persons on parole, and discharge was granted after 12 satisfactory reports.

It was stated in the 1925 report of the department of public welfare that no person was released from a penal institution and returned to the community until he was assured of employment at a wage commensurate with his capabilities and had a sponsor who had been investigated and to whom he was released. The parolee had to be at his home by 9 p. m., drink no intoxicating liquors, keep free from "encounters" and disturbances, and report regularly to his sponsor. The breaking of any of these rules constituted a violation of parole, and the parolee might be returned to the institution. The State was divided into districts and at least one parole officer assigned to each district. The same officers had supervision over boys discharged from the reformatory and of men from the penitentiary. A separate staff was maintained for boys discharged from the State school for boys under 17 years of age.

Usually 600 to 700 persons were on parole in the district that included Chicago and four neighboring counties. On May 1, 1927, there were 645 persons on parole and 13 parole officers in the district, an average case load of about 50 for each officer. The supervisor of paroles (appointed July 21, 1926) stated that the staff of the division, consisting of 48 employees in all, was too small to make adequate supervision possible, and that the period of parole should be lengthened and the requirements for discharge made more strict.

Several of the case histories indicated the need for more personal attention to boys on parole and showed the results of lack of supervision. Gale Brown (see p. 135) related that on his release from the reformatory there was no job awaiting him as he had been led to expect, and that no work was found for him during the month he was on parole. He saw his sponsor very little, and his only contact with his parole officer was after he had been again arrested. Having no job and little money he resorted to robbery and was returned to the reformatory to serve terms both for the new offense and as a parole violator.

STUDY OF 972 BOYS' COURT CASES

SELECTION OF CASES AND SOURCES OF INFORMATION

To get a better idea of the actual workings of the boys' court a selected group of cases dealt with by the court was studied. After conference with the chief justice of the municipal court, the director and assistant director of the psychopathic laboratory, and the social-service secretary of the boys' court it was decided to take as a sample of the general run of cases the first 65 cases appearing on the daily court sheet each month during 1924 and 1925. In this way cases heard by the different judges sitting on the bench were included, and sufficient time had elapsed since the inception of all cases to allow for their final disposition. By this method 1,499 cases were obtained for the preliminary survey after cases brought in error and duplicate entries had been discarded. The court history of each case was obtained from the daily court sheet and social data from the index cards of the social-service department of the boys' court. After the elimination of cases of older persons or girls above juvenile-court age who were involved in offenses with boys, a few cases of boys just over 21 or just under 17, and more than one case against the same boy, this method of sampling gave 972 as the number of cases included in the study and 909 as the number of boys involved in these cases.[1]

All available sources of information were used to obtain a full history of the 972 selected cases—municipal-court docket and files, files of the social-service department of the boys' court, criminal-court docket and files, records of the adult probation department for cases placed on probation by municipal-court judges, and records of the jail division of the Cook County Bureau of Social Service, the social-service secretary of the State's attorney's office, the juvenile court, the psychopathic laboratory of the municipal court, the Institute for Juvenile Research, and the social-service exchange.

OFFENSES BRINGING BOYS BEFORE THE COURT

NATURE OF CHARGE

In the 972 cases selected for study disorderly conduct and offenses against property comprised more than four-fifths of all the charges, 46.8 per cent being charges of disorderly conduct and 35.4 per cent offenses against property. (Table 11.) Theft or attempted theft (including larceny, burglary, receiving stolen property, obtaining money or goods under false pretenses, confidence games, embezzlement, and forgery) constituted practically all the latter class of

[1] See Appendix for comparison of this selected group with the total number of cases dealt with by the boys' court in 1924 and 1925 and for details of exclusions.

offenses, the few other cases being trespassing and malicious mischief. Two-thirds of the theft cases were cases of larceny.

Cases of theft and robbery (the latter classified under crimes of violence), comprising the group of so-called crimes of acquisitiveness, together represented nearly two-fifths (38.8 per cent) of all the selected cases.

TABLE 11.—*Type of offense, by charge on which referred, in selected cases dealt with in the boys' court during 1924 and 1925*

Charge	Selected cases							
	Total		Felonies		Misdemeanors		Quasi-criminal cases	
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution
Total	972		256		234		482	
Charge reported	971	100.0	255	100.0	234	100.0	482	100.0
Crimes of violence and injuries to persons	82	8.4	50	19.6	32	13.7		
Murder	1	.1	1	.4				
Assault with intent to kill	1	.1	1	.4				
Robbery or attempted robbery with gun	12	1.2	12	4.7				
Robbery or attempted robbery, gun not specified	36	3.7	36	14.1				
Assault with deadly weapon	22	2.3			22	9.4		
Assault and battery	10	1.0			10	4.3		
Crimes and offenses against property	344	35.4	188	73.7	144	61.5	12	2.5
Operating motor vehicle without owner's consent	20	2.1			19	8.1	1	.2
Larceny of auto	88	9.1	76	29.8	12	5.1		
Larceny, other or not specified	136	14.0	39	15.3	97	41.5		
Burglary or attempted burglary	54	5.6	54	21.2				
Receiving stolen property	14	1.4	7	2.7	7	3.0		
Other acquisitive crimes and offenses	17	1.8	11	4.3	5	2.1	1	.2
Trespassing	11	1.1			1	.4	10	2.1
Malicious mischief	4	.4	1	.4	3	1.3		
Sex crimes and offenses	38	3.9	17	6.7	16	6.8	5	1.0
Rape	15	1.5	15	5.9				
Contributing to delinquency of child	13	1.3			13	5.6		
Indecent exposure or immoral exhibition	5	.5			2	.9	3	.6
Other	5	.5	2	.8	1	.4	2	.4
Disorderly conduct	454	46.8					454	94.2
Violating liquor laws	11	1.1			11	4.7		
Offenses against public safety	42	4.3			31	13.2	11	2.3
Carrying concealed weapons	21	2.2			21	9.0		
Violating auto laws and ordinances	11	1.1			10	4.3	1	.2
Violating other ordinances	10	1.0					10	2.1
Charge not reported	1	.1	1					

Crimes of violence and injuries to persons formed 8.4 per cent of the charges on which boys involved in the selected cases were brought to court. Robbery, which was included among crimes of violence rather than with other thefts because violence to persons is always

present in robbery but may not accompany the commission of other thefts,[2] accounted for 58.5 per cent of the crimes of violence; assault with a deadly weapon, for 27 per cent; and assault and battery, for 12.2 per cent. The most serious charges, assault with intent to kill, manslaughter, and murder, were infrequent, only two such charges occurring among these cases.

Sex offenses and sex crimes comprised 3.9 per cent of the charges. Not quite half of these were felonies, most of them rape. (Table 11.) Most of the other cases were charges of contributing to the delinquency of a child and indecent exposure or immoral exhibition. A few charges (4.3 per cent) were classified as offenses against public health and safety; they included chiefly carrying concealed weapons and violations of automobile laws and ordinances. Violations of liquor laws constituted 1.1 per cent of the charges. Offenses connected with automobiles were classified as larceny of auto, operating motor vehicle without owner's consent, and violations of automobile laws and ordinances. These offenses together comprised 12.2 per cent of the whole group. In addition, assault with a deadly weapon was frequently used to designate injury to a person by an automobile.

A large variety of offenses were covered by the charge of disorderly conduct.[3] Often other more serious charges were dropped and the boy prosecuted only on this relatively light charge. The ordinance defining disorderly conduct included as disorderly all persons making improper noise, riot, or disturbance, and collecting in annoying crowds, those guilty of begging, unlawful gaming, assault, fraud, carrying concealed weapons, and "all persons lodging in or found at any time in outhouses, sheds, barns, stables, or unoccupied buildings, or underneath sidewalks, or lodging in the open air, and not giving a good account of themselves;" "all persons who stand, loiter, or stroll about in any place, waiting or seeking to obtain money or other valuable things from others;" "all persons found loitering about in any hotel, block, bar room, dram shop, gambling house, or disorderly house, or wandering about the streets either by night or day without any known lawful means of support or without being able to give a satisfactory account of themselves;" and "all persons who are known to be thieves, burglars, pickpockets, robbers, or confidence men, either by their confession or otherwise, or by having been convicted of larceny, burglary, or other crime against the law of the State of Illinois, who are found lounging or prowling or loitering around any steamboat landing, railroad depot, banking institution, place of public amusement, auction room, hotel, store, shop, thoroughfare, car, omnibus, public conveyance, public gathering, public assembly, court room, public building, private dwelling house, outhouse, house of ill fame, gambling house, or any public place, and who are unable to give a reasonable excuse for being so found."[4]

After a boy had been arrested for suspected implication in a crime—as a rule, theft—and the connection could not be proved he could usually be prosecuted, under this ordinance, for disorderly con-

[2] Robbery is defined as "the felonious and violent taking of money, goods, and other valuable things from the person of another by force or intimidation." Ill., Rev. Stat. (Smith-Hurd's) 1927, ch. 38, sec. 501.

[3] Lists of arrests on the charge of disorderly conduct, in the municipal court of Chicago and in the boys' court, are presented in the report on Recent Statistics Relating to Crime in Chicago, by Edith Abbott, in the Survey of the Cook County Jail, p. 168.

[4] Municipal Ordinances of Chicago, 1922, Ordinance No. 2665.

duct. Examples are a boy who was arrested when coming out of a garage from which he had taken an auto the week before, a boy who was suspected of a burglary which occurred in the building in which he lived, one arrested in a 5 and 10 cent store, one arrested when drunk in a stolen car, one who was with two others who had stolen a crate of eggs, and another who was with a boy who forged a check. All were brought in on disorderly conduct charges, and all were discharged except the boy who was with the forger, and he was fined.

Another large class of arrests on suspicion included under disorderly conduct were those not connected with a particular offense, which were usually described by the boy as being "picked up." These arrests might be made because the boy's movements at the moment or his general reputation or the reputation of his gang made him an object of suspicion. The boy might be fined, placed on probation, or discharged. Examples are a boy with a court record suggestive of gang activities who was picked up at 2.30 a. m. and discharged in court, another with a similar record picked up at 1.30 a m. and fined, another picked up at noon and discharged. Two others with no known court record were picked up when standing in front of a dance hall at 10.30 p. m. Another at 1 a. m. was ordered by an officer to move on and was arrested when he came back to the same place. One boy with a previous appearance in the speeders' court was picked up when he ran out of gas at 2.30 a. m.

The charge of disorderly conduct was also used when the family of a boy made a complaint against him. In these cases the disposition was frequently in accordance with the wishes of the complainant, and the boy might be fined and sent to the house of correction for nonpayment, placed on probation, or discharged. In other instances the offense of the boy might be certain and specific, but he was prosecuted on the disorderly conduct charge rather than on a more serious charge, as were two boys arrested, one for scalping theater tickets and one for assault with a deadly weapon. Both were fined.

Drunkenness or drinking caused some arrests, after which the boys were charged with disorderly conduct and either discharged or fined. Offenses similar to malicious mischief were sometimes called disorderly conduct. Cases of this type were of boys arrested for breaking windows. A crap game was also a cause of a "disorderly" charge. Street fighting was a rather infrequent cause of this charge and was disposed of by probation, fine, or discharge.

TYPE OF OFFENSE

Nearly all (94.2 per cent) of the quasi-criminal offenses were disorderly conduct. The remaining quasi-criminal offenses were offenses against property (chiefly trespassing), offenses against public health and safety, and minor sex offenses.

Three-fifths (61.5 per cent) of the 234 misdemeanors were connected with property, almost all of these being theft or attempted theft. (Table 11.) Injuries to persons—that is, assault and battery and assault with a deadly weapon—constituted 13.7 per cent, and offenses against public health and safety (charges of carrying concealed weapons and violations of automobile laws), 13.2 per cent.

Sex offenses comprised 6.8 per cent of the misdemeanors, and violations of liquor laws, 4.7 per cent.

Three-fourths (73.4 per cent) of the felonies were offenses against property, all of these being theft or attempted theft. Crimes of violence (all robbery except 1 murder and 1 assault to kill) formed 19.5 per cent, and sex crimes (all but 2 of the 17 cases being charges of rape), 6.6 per cent of the felonies.

Crimes of acquisitiveness (theft and robbery) constituted 76.5 per cent of all misdemeanors and felonies. When all offenses against property—that is, trespassing and malicious mischief, as well as theft—are included the percentage is 77.5. The preponderance of offenses of this type is noted by other investigators, Mr. Edwin S. Cooley reporting that crimes of acquisitiveness and violation of property rights formed 78.3 per cent of the cases (chiefly felonies) investigated by the probation bureau of the New York City court of general sessions.[5] Dr. William E. Healy reports that stealing constituted 68 per cent of the offenses of juvenile delinquents studied in Chicago and 70 per cent of those in Boston.[6]

OFFENSE AS RELATED TO RACE AND AGE

Of the 972 selected cases, 792 involved white boys, 124 involved colored boys (including 2 Filipinos), and for 56 race was not reported. (Table 12.) The charge of disorderly conduct was relatively more frequent against white boys than against colored; and charges of sex crimes and offenses, and offenses against public safety, were relatively less frequent in cases involving white boys than in cases involving colored boys. There was little difference in the proportions of cases of white and colored involving crimes of violence and injury to person, crimes and offenses against property, or violation of liquor laws.

TABLE 12.—*Race of boy, by charge on which referred, in selected cases dealt with in boys' court during 1924 and 1925*

Charge	Selected cases						
	Total		Race				
			White		Colored [a]		Not reported
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	
Total	972		792		124		56
Charge reported	971	100.0	792	100.0	123	100.0	56
Crimes of violence and injuries to persons	82	8.4	71	9.0	10	8.1	1
Murder	1	.1					
Assault with intent to kill	1	.1	1	.1	1	.8	
Robbery or attempted robbery with gun	12	1.2	10	1.3	2	1.6	
Robbery or attempted robbery, gun not specified	36	3.7	31	3.9	4	3.3	1
Assault with deadly weapon	22	2.3	20	2.5	2	1.6	
Assault and battery	10	1.0	9	1.1	1	.8	

[a] Includes 122 cases of Negroes and 2 of Filipinos.

[5] Cooley, Edwin S.: Probation and Delinquency, p. 86. New York, 1927.

[6] Healy, William E., and Augusta F. Bronner: Delinquents and Criminals, Their Making and Unmaking, p. 160. New York, 1926.

TABLE 12.—*Race of boy, by charge on which referred, in selected cases dealt with in boys' court during 1924 and 1925*—Continued

Charge	Selected cases						
	Total		Race				
			White		Colored		Not reported
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	
Charge reported—Continued.							
Crimes and offenses against property	344	35.4	282	35.6	48	39.0	14
Operating motor vehicle without owner's consent	20	2.1	17	2.1	3	2.4	
Larceny of auto	88	9.1	80	10.1	4	3.3	4
Larceny, other or not specified	136	14.0	105	13.3	24	19.5	7
Burglary or attempted burglary	54	5.6	41	5.2	13	10.6	
Receiving stolen property	14	1.4	13	1.6	1	.8	
Other acquisitive crimes and offenses	17	1.8	15	1.9	2	1.6	
Trespassing	11	1.1	7	.9	1	.8	3
Malicious mischief	4	.4	4	.5			
Sex crimes and offenses	38	3.9	28	3.5	10	8.1	
Rape	15	1.5	12	1.5	3	2.4	
Contributing to delinquency of child	13	1.3	9	1.1	4	3.3	
Indecent exposure or immoral exhibition	5	.5	3	.4	2	1.6	
Other	5	.5	4	.5	1	.8	
Disorderly conduct	454	46.8	370	46.7	44	35.8	40
Violating liquor laws	11	1.1	10	1.3	1	.8	
Offenses against public safety	42	4.3	31	3.9	10	8.1	1
Carrying concealed weapons	21	2.2	14	1.8	6	4.9	1
Violating auto laws and ordinances	11	1.1	8	1.0	3	2.4	
Violating other ordinances	10	1.0	9	1.1	1	.8	
Charge not reported	1				1		

White and colored boys committed felonies in proportions about commensurate with the numbers of each in the group selected for intensive study; 86.5 per cent of all the cases and 86.6 per cent of the felonies were charges against white boys. (Table 13.)

The numbers of cases against boys 17 years of age and 18 years of age dealt with by the boys' court were about equal, each comprising 30 per cent of the selected group, whereas 25 per cent of the cases involved boys 19 years of age and only 15 per cent boys 20 years of age.[7] The percentages of 17, 18, and 19 year old boys involved in cases disposed of as felonies were 29.3, 30.1, and 23.8, slightly lower than the percentage of each in the whole group, whereas the percentage of 20-year-old boys involved in such cases was 16.8, a higher percentage than is found for that age group among all the selected cases. It is not known whether this indicates a real difference in type of offense or a tendency to substitute lesser for more serious charges in the case of younger boys.

[7] Further discussion of age is presented in connection with the analysis of characteristics of the boys involved in the selected cases, p. 88.

TABLE 13.—*Race of boy and age at first appearance in each case, by type of offense, in selected cases dealt with by the boys' court during 1924 and 1925*

Race of boy and age at first appearance in each case	Selected cases							
	Total		Felonies		Misdemeanors		Quasi-criminal cases	
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution
Total	972	100.0	256	100.0	234	100.0	482	100.0
17 years	292	30.0	75	29.3	73	31.2	144	29.9
18 years	294	30.2	77	30.1	73	31.2	144	29.9
19 years	245	25.2	61	23.8	61	26.1	123	25.5
20 years	141	14.5	43	16.8	27	11.5	71	14.7
Race reported	916	100.0	247	100.0	230	100.0	439	100.0
White	792	86.5	214	86.6	187	81.3	391	89.1
17 years	234	25.5	61	24.7	56	24.3	117	26.7
18 years	231	25.2	64	25.9	53	23.0	114	26.0
19 years	205	22.4	52	21.1	53	23.0	100	22.8
20 years	122	13.3	37	15.0	25	10.9	60	13.7
Colored	124	13.5	33	13.4	43	18.7	48	10.9
17 years	44	4.8	10	4.0	16	7.0	18	4.1
18 years	50	5.5	13	5.3	20	8.7	17	3.9
19 years	20	2.2	4	1.6	6	2.6	10	2.3
20 years	10	1.1	6	2.4	1	.4	3	.7
Race not reported	56		9		4		43	

JAIL DETENTION

Boys detained after arrest were kept in a precinct police station until their appearance in the boys' court. Usually this was for only one night. In case of arrest on Saturday or the day before a holiday on which no court was held, however, detention lasted over Sunday or the holiday and for three nights if the two occurred together. Occasionally boys were kept in police stations for longer intervals before court arraignment if a confession was sought by the police. No reports were available of the amount or length of detention in police stations. After arraignment in court, detention pending disposition of the case was always in the county jail.

The court records used in this study did not have accurate information regarding jail detention in all cases. It was definitely known that 151 defendants in cases included in the study were kept in jail pending the disposition of their cases. (Table 14.) Study of these cases indicated that many boys who later were found to be innocent of any charge had been subjected to undesirable conditions in the county jail while waiting disposition of their cases. Of the 151 cases in which the boys were detained in jail, 95 cases were eventually dismissed, nol-prossed, or discharged. Thus 62.2 per cent of the cases in which boys were detained in jail by order of the boys' court were eventually dismissed without trial or were disposed of with a verdict of not guilty. This proportion was about the same as the proportion (62.1) dismissed and found not guilty among the whole group.

TABLE 14.—*Jail detention, by disposition in boys' court, in selected cases dealt with by the boys' court during 1924 and 1925*

Disposition	Selected cases					
	Total		Jail detention			
	Number	Per cent distribution	Detained	Not detained	Inapplicable (case disposed of on day of charge)	Not reported
Total	972		151	88	339	394
Disposed of	948	100.0	150	83	339	376
Discharged	448	47.3	72	43	144	189
Boy a juvenile	3	.3	1		1	1
No prosecution; boy sent to school for feeble-minded	7	.7	1		1	5
Other	438	46.2	70	43	142	183
Dismissed	146	15.4	23	19	20	84
For want of prosecution	144	15.2	23	19	20	82
Nol-prossed	2	.2				2
Held for grand jury	92	9.7	25	4	42	21
Boy placed on probation	129	13.6	10	8	50	61
Fine imposed	80	8.4	11	7	53	9
Boy committed to institution	51	5.4	9	2	29	11
House of correction	48	5.1	8	2	27	11
Reformatory	3	.3	1		2	
Transferred to other court	2	.2			1	1
Pending	24		1	5		18

Jail detention was more prevalent among colored boys than among white boys; in 41 per cent of the cases involving colored boys for whom detention was reported the defendants were detained in jail during continuances of their cases, whereas in only 25 per cent of the cases involving white boys for whom detention was reported were the defendants detained. This difference may be due in part to the fact that 49 per cent of the white boys, compared with only 39 per cent of the colored boys, were charged with quasi-criminal offenses for which boys could be released without security on their promise to appear in court, whereas in misdemeanor and felony cases boys could be released only after giving bail. (See p. 22.) The greater amount of detention among colored boys also probably reflects their inability to furnish bail so readily as white boys.

Jail detention appeared to be used less frequently for the younger boys than for the older boys. Twenty-four per cent of the 17-year-old boys, 26 per cent of the 18-year-old boys, 25 per cent of the 19-year-old boys, and 32 per cent of the 20-year-old boys for whom detention was reported were detained in jail during continuances of their cases.

Accurate information regarding detention was obtained for all the cases of the selected group that were held for the grand jury. Of the 92 defendants in these cases 71 were kept in jail at least part of the time after examination by the boys' court. In 10 of the 71

cases the duration of detention was less than two weeks, in 33 it lasted two weeks but less than two months, and in 28 it was two months or more. In all but 3 of 15 cases in which detention was three months or longer, sentences of some kind were given to the defendants.

In 12 of 24 cases held for the grand jury in which no indictment was returned the defendants were not detained. in 6 such cases they were detained less than two weeks, in 4 cases from two weeks to one month, and in 2 cases from one to two months. The boys in 4 of the 17 cases discharged or not prosecuted after indictment were not kept in jail, but of the 13 detained all but 1 were detained at least two weeks, and 2 were detained three months but less than six.

Whether or not a boy was held in jail awaiting trial was determined not by the seriousness of the crime but by the ability of the boy or his family to furnish bail. For example, the 1 boy charged with assault to kill was not in jail at all; 7 of the 26 defendants in robbery cases and 8 of the 22 defendants on burglary charges were on bail part or all of the time that their cases were pending. In 17 of the 33 larceny cases held for the grand jury the defendant was in jail the entire period.

In all the 16 cases of colored boys held for the grand jury the boys were in jail the entire period pending disposition of their cases, probably because of inability to give bail. In 31 of the 70 cases involving white boys held for the grand jury the boy was on bail part or all of the period. For 6 boys held for the grand jury race was not reported; 4 of these were admitted to bail.

DISPOSITION OF CASES

NATURE OF DISPOSITION

In the records of the municipal court several charges relating to the same offense were treated as so many different cases. The court often dismissed or discharged all except one case which was selected for adjudication. Consequently the number of discharges and dismissals appearing in the reports of the municipal court is large in comparison with courts which count their cases and dispositions by a different system. In the criminal court of Cook County, for example, a number of charges brought against one person on one day, which might or might not be in regard to the same offense, might be given one docket number and treated as one case, as might be done also when the charges related to the same offense but were made against several persons.

The selection for this study of only one charge among those brought on the same day against one boy in the boys' court eliminated this overstatement of the dismissed and discharged cases. Even after this elimination of simultaneous charges, 594 (62.7 per cent) of the 948 cases disposed of in the boys' court (including those held for the grand jury) were discharged or dismissed. (Table 14.) In addition to the 438 cases in which the defendants were discharged as not guilty, the defendants were discharged as juveniles in 3 cases, although the age given on the court record was 17 or over, and in 7 they were committed to the State school for the feeble-minded. Only 2 cases were nol-prossed and none was

nonsuited, but 144 were dismissed for want of prosecution. Of the 354 cases (37.3 per cent) not discharged or dismissed, the defendants in 129 were placed on probation, in 80 were fined, in 51 were sentenced to a correctional institution either with or without fine, in 92 were held for the grand jury, and in 2 were transferred to a jury court. Although the boys were sentenced to an institution in only 51 cases, in 55 of the 80 cases in which fines were imposed they served a term in an institution because of inability to pay fines. In only 27.4 per cent of the cases selected for study that were disposed of by the boys' court was the defendant found guilty and judgment pronounced in that court.

The proportion of cases discharged and dismissed without trial in all the criminal branches of the municipal court is similar to the proportion in the boys' court. From 1922 to 1924, 64.9 per cent of all criminal cases disposed of by the municipal court were discharged, nol-prossed, nonsuited, or dismissed for want of prosecution.

Of the 92 cases held by the boys' court for the grand jury, 34 did not go to trial; in 24 of these no indictment was returned by the grand jury, 4 were dismissed for want of prosecution, 5 were stricken out with leave to reinstate, and 1 was transferred to the juvenile court. After trial 8 were discharged. In the 50 cases in which the defendants were found guilty 12 were placed on probation and 38 were committed to institutions. Naturally, as the cases had already been sifted for probable cause by the municipal judge in the boys' court, the proportion dismissed or discharged by the grand jury and criminal court was smaller than in the boys' court, but it reached 44.6 per cent.

The final disposition of all these selected cases by the boys' court or the criminal court shows the defendants in 141 placed on probation, in 80 fined, and in 89 committed to correctional institutions; 635 cases dismissed or discharged; and 3 cases transferred to other courts. In only 32.7 per cent of the cases disposed of was there a verdict of guilty. Included in this group were those cases in which the disposition was probation, 14.9 per cent of the total; fine, 8.4 per cent; and imprisonment, 9.4 per cent.[8] (Table 15.)

The practice of the Chicago boys' court of using informal supervision by private agencies in some of the cases in which a boy was found not guilty and in continued cases has already been referred to. (See p. 41.) In 83 of the selected cases the defendants were placed under informal supervision—in 34 after discharge and in 49 during continuance. The number of cases in which the defendant either was placed on probation or received informal supervision was 224 (23.6 per cent of the group under consideration). The number who served sentences in an institution, including those committed for nonpayment of fine, was 144 (15.1 per cent of the entire group). In 106 of these 144 cases the defendants were sentenced by the boys' court and in 38 by the criminal court.

[8] Even in these cases the full sentence or period for serving out a fine was not always served, as records frequently showed that judgment was "vacated except for part served" and that the prisoner was released before serving out his term.

TABLE 15.—*Final disposition of case by the boys' court, grand jury, or criminal court in selected cases dealt with by the boys' court during 1924 and 1925*

Final disposition	Selected cases						
	Total		Final disposition made by—				Pending
			Boys' court		Grand jury or criminal court		
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	
Total	972		856		92		24
Disposed of	948	100.0	856	100.0	92	100.0	
Boy discharged	456	48.1	448	52.3	8	8.7	
As juvenile	3	.3	3	.4			
No prosecution; boy sent to school for feeble-minded	7	.7	7	.8			
Other	446	47.0	438	51.2	8	8.7	
Dismissed	179	18.9	146	17.1	33	35.9	
For want of prosecution	148	15.6	144	16.8	4	4.3	
Nol-prossed	2	.2	2	.2			
Not indicted by grand jury	24	2.5			24	26.1	
Stricken out with leave to reinstate	5	.5			5	5.4	
Boy placed on probation	141	14.9	129	15.1	12	13.0	
Fine imposed	80	8.4	80	9.3			
Boy committed to institution	89	9.4	51	6.0	38	41.3	
House of correction	62	6.5	48	5.6	14	15.2	
Reformatory	20	2.1	3	.4	17	18.5	
Penitentiary	7	.7			7	7.6	
Transferred to other court	3	.3	2	.2	1	1.1	
Pending	24						24

DISPOSITION AND RACE

Among the cases studied, the proportion of colored boys found guilty was larger than the proportion of white boys, although there is no reason to think that the police used more discrimination in arresting colored boys than white boys. Although differences were found in the distribution of charges against the white and the colored boys (see p. 76) they were not sufficient to account for the disparity in the disposition of cases. Relatively more colored boys than white boys were committed to institutions (10 per cent of the defendants in cases involving colored boys and 4.7 per cent of those in cases involving white boys), and relatively fewer colored boys were placed on probation (10 per cent of the defendants in cases involving colored boys and 15 per cent of those in cases involving white boys). (Table 16.) A larger proportion of the cases of colored boys than of white boys were held for the grand jury—13.3 per cent of the colored, as compared with 9 per cent of the white. The larger percentage of colored boys given the more severe sentences was not due to their having committed more serious offenses, for approximately the same percentages of each race were charged with felonies (26.6 per cent for colored and 27 per cent for white). In 48.5 per cent of the felony cases involving colored boys, but in only 32.9 per cent of the felony cases involving white boys, the defendant was held for the grand jury. In the cases involving minor offenses (misdemeanors and quasi-criminal cases) commitment to institutions was ordered in 6.4

per cent of the white cases and in 13.8 per cent of the colored cases,[9] and probation was ordered in 20.7 per cent of the white cases but in only 13.8 per cent of the colored cases. It is possible, however, that social investigation of the cases would have shown that the needs of the colored boys differed somewhat from those of the white boys, that their economic status and home conditions were less favorable, and that consequently probation was desirable in a smaller proportion of cases and institutional commitment necessary in a larger proportion of cases than among white boys.[10] But there was no evidence of this sort before the court.

TABLE 16.—*Type of offense and disposition in boys' court, by race, in selected cases dealt with in the boys' court during 1924 and 1925*

Type of offense and disposition	Selected cases						
	Total		Race				
			White		Colored		Not reported
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution [a]	
Total	972		792		124		56
Disposed of	948	100.0	774	100.0	120	100.0	54
Boy discharged	448	47.3	356	46.0	50	41.7	42
Dismissed	146	15.4	129	16.7	17	14.2	
Held for grand jury	92	9.7	70	9.0	16	13.3	6
Boy placed on probation	129	13.6	116	15.0	12	10.0	1
Fine imposed	80	8.4	65	8.4	13	10.8	2
Boy committed to institution	51	5.4	36	4.7	12	10.0	3
Transferred to other court	2	.2	2	.3			
Pending	24		18		4		2
Felony	256		214		33		9
Disposed of	255	100.0	213	100.0	33		9
Boy discharged	67	26.3	59	27.7	5		3
Dismissed	96	37.6	84	39.4	12		
Held for grand jury	92	36.1	70	32.9	16		6
Pending	1		1				
Misdemeanor and quasi-criminal	716		578		91		47
Disposed of	693	100.0	561	100.0	87	100.0	45
Boy discharged	381	55.0	297	52.9	45	51.7	39
Dismissed	50	7.2	45	8.0	5	5.7	
Boy placed on probation	129	18.6	116	20.7	12	13.8	1
Fine imposed	80	11.5	65	11.6	13	14.9	2
Boy committed to institution	51	7.4	36	6.4	12	13.8	
Transferred to other court	2	.3	2	.4			3
Pending	23		17		4		2

[a] Not shown where base is less than 50.

[9] The fact that a larger percentage of white boys than of colored boys (46.7 as compared with 35.5) were charged with disorderly conduct, an offense for which commitment to an institution can not be made except for nonpayment of fine, may be a partial explanation of the higher percentage of commitments to institutions among colored boys, but the difference is not sufficiently great to explain a percentage of commitments among colored boys more than double that found among white boys.

[10] "A (prominent) judge of the recorder's court [in Detroit] says that negroes are more often arrested than whites and their homes more often invaded without warrants. A prominent court official says that in the matter of arraignments the negro is likely to get a relatively heavier charge than a white man would receive for the same offense." The Negro in Detroit, prepared for the mayor's interracial committee by a special survey staff under the general direction of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research (Inc.), 1926, sec. 9, Crime, p. 18. The same study showed 32.3 per cent of the complaints in the juvenile court involving colored children during a 6-month period disposed of by probation, as compared with 43.9 per cent of those involving white children. "Judge Hulbert testified that the colored child was a willing probationist but that he is likely to fail because of lower home standards and the floating characteristics of the colored population." (Ibid., pp. 44, 46.)

DISPOSITION AND AGE

The policy of the boys' court regarding disposition of cases as shown by the cases selected for study appeared to be much the same for boys of different ages within its jurisdiction, except that a little more severity was discernible in the treatment of cases of felonies involving 20-year-old boys and a slight tendency toward leniency with the youngest boys. The percentage discharged or not prosecuted among all the felony cases was 63.9; among those involving 17-year-old boys, 72; and among those involving 20-year-old boys, 48.8. The percentage of all felony cases held for the grand jury was 36.1; of those involving 17-year-old boys, 28; and of those involving 20-year-old boys, 51.2. (Table 17.) This difference, however, might have been due to the fact that the 17-year-old boys came before the boys' court for the first time and were often given another chance, whereas more of the older boys were repeaters in the court and were treated more severely for this reason.

TABLE 17.—*Type of offense and disposition in boys' court, by age, in selected cases dealt with in the boys' court during 1924 and 1925*

Type of offense and disposition	Selected cases									
	Total		Age							
			17 years		18 years		19 years		20 years	
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution [1]
Total	972		292		294		245		141	
Disposed of	948	100.0	282	100.0	288	100.0	237	100.0	141	100.0
Boy discharged	448	47.3	132	46.8	130	45.1	120	50.6	66	46.8
Dismissed	146	15.4	44	15.6	49	17.0	36	15.2	17	12.1
Held for grand jury	92	9.7	21	7.4	30	10.4	19	8.0	22	15.6
Boy placed on probation	129	13.6	46	16.3	41	14.2	30	12.7	12	8.5
Fine imposed	80	8.4	20	7.1	26	9.0	18	7.6	16	11.3
Boy committed to institution	51	5.4	18	6.4	12	4.2	14	5.9	7	5.0
Transferred to other court	2	.2	1	.4					1	.7
Pending	24		10		6		8			
Felony	256		75		77		61		43	
Disposed of	255	100.0	75	100.0	77	100.0	60	100.0	43	
Boy discharged	67	26.3	19	25.3	16	20.8	20	33.3	12	
Dismissed	96	37.6	35	46.7	31	40.3	21	35.0	9	
Held for grand jury	92	36.1	21	28.0	30	39.0	19	31.7	22	
Pending	1						1			
Misdemeanor and quasi-criminal	716		217		217		184		98	
Disposed of	693	100.0	207	100.0	211	100.0	177	100.0	98	100.0
Boy discharged	381	55.0	113	54.6	114	54.0	100	56.5	54	55.1
Dismissed	50	7.2	9	4.3	18	8.5	15	8.5	8	8.2
Boy placed on probation	129	18.6	46	22.2	41	19.4	30	16.9	12	12.2
Fine imposed	80	11.5	20	9.7	26	12.3	18	10.2	16	16.3
Boy committed to institution	51	7.4	18	8.7	12	5.7	14	7.9	7	7.1
Transferred to other court	2	.3	1	.5					1	1.0
Pending	23		10		6		7			

[1] Not shown where base is less than 50.

Among the cases of misdemeanors and quasi-criminal offenses no very great difference in the treatment of boys of various age groups was evident. Minor differences were noted, however. Probation, ordered in 18.6 per cent of all cases, was the treatment accorded in 22.2 per cent of the cases involving 17-year-old boys and in only 12.2 per cent of the cases involving 20-year-old boys. On the other hand, fines, imposed in 11.5 per cent of all the cases, were used in 9.7 per cent of the cases involving 17-year-old boys and in 16.3 per cent of the cases involving 20-year-old boys. The percentage discharged and not prosecuted among cases involving 17-year-old boys (58.9) was lower, however, than the percentage among the other age groups (62.5 for the 18-year group, 65 for the 19-year group, and 63.3 for the 20-year group). The percentage committed to institutions among the cases involving the youngest boys (8.7) was higher than among the cases involving the oldest (7.1 for the 20-year group).

INTERVAL BETWEEN CHARGE AND DISPOSITION

Of the cases not held for the grand jury 71.6 per cent were disposed of by the boys' court in less than a month, and 47 per cent in less than a week. In 17.9 per cent, however, the interval between the first hearing and the final disposition in the boys' court was two months or more. When felonies held for the grand jury are included the average time before disposition in the boys' court was shorter. Of all the selected cases disposed of by the boys' court 73.7 per cent were terminated in less than a month and 49.5 per cent in less than a week; 16.2 per cent were continued for two months or more. (Table 18.) Nearly all the 154 cases under the jurisdiction of the boys' court two months or more were discharged or dismissed without trial eventually; only 12 were given more serious dispositions after this long wait. During this interval, however, 49 of the 154 cases had been under the supervision of unofficial agencies at the request of the judge, so that the long continuance in these cases was not due to delay but to a definite policy in treatment.

The interval before the final disposition of cases held for the grand jury was naturally longer than that in cases disposed of finally in the boys' court. Thus, of the 856 cases disposed of in the boys' court, 57.9 per cent were disposed of in less than two weeks, as compared with only 4.3 per cent of the 92 cases held for the grand jury. The interval before the final disposition was two months or more in 65.2 per cent of the cases held for the grand jury but in only 17.9 per cent of the cases disposed of by the boys' court. (Table 19.) Of the 92 cases held for the grand jury, the interval between the first boys' court hearing and the final disposition was between three and six months in 31 cases and between 6 months and a year in 4 cases. One of these last cases was finally discharged; in 1 case the defendant was placed on probation and in 2 cases the defendants were sent to the house of correction. The 17 cases in which the defendants were committed to the State reformatory and the 7 in which penitentiary sentences were given were closed in less than six months. The charges in the two cases lasting a year or more were eventually stricken out with leave to reinstate. Only 8 of the 17 cases held for the grand

jury and criminal court that were eventually dismissed, stricken out, or found not guilty were closed in less than three months.

TABLE 18.—*Disposition in boys' court, by interval between first hearing and disposition of case, for selected cases dealt with by the boys' court during 1924 and 1925*

Disposition	Selected cases												
	Total		Disposed of in boys' court										Pending
			Total		Interval between first hearing and disposition								
					Under 1 week		1 week, under 1 month		1 month, under 2 months		2 months and over		
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	
Total	972	.....	948	.....	469	.....	230	.....	95	.....	154	.....	24
Disposed of	948	100.0	948	100.0	469	100.0	230	100.0	95	100.0	154	100.0	.....
Boy discharged	448	47.3	448	47.3	196	41.8	90	39.1	45	47.4	117	76.0	.....
Dismissed	146	15.4	146	15.4	35	7.5	68	29.6	19	20.0	24	15.6	.....
Held for grand jury	92	9.7	92	9.7	67	14.3	19	8.3	5	5.3	1	.6	.....
Boy placed on probation	129	13.6	129	13.6	64	13.6	37	16.1	23	24.2	5	3.2	.....
Fine imposed	80	8.4	80	8.4	66	14.1	9	3.9	2	2.1	3	1.9	.....
Boy committed to institution	51	5.4	51	5.4	40	8.5	7	3.0	1	1.1	3	1.9	.....
Transferred to other court	2	.2	2	.2	1	.2	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.6	.....
Pending	24	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	24

TABLE 19.—*Interval between first hearing in boys' court and final disposition by boys' court, grand jury, or criminal court of selected cases dealt with in the boys' court during 1924 and 1925*

Interval between first hearing and final disposition	Selected cases						
	Total		Disposed of by—				Pending
			Boys' court		Grand jury or criminal court [1]		
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	
Total	972	.....	856	.....	92	.....	24
Disposed of	948	100.0	856	100.0	92	100.0	.....
Under 1 month	632	66.7	613	71.6	19	20.7	.....
Under 1 week	402	42.4	402	47.0	.....	.....	.....
1 week, under 2	90	9.5	86	10.0	4	4.3	.....
2 weeks, under 1 month	140	14.8	125	14.6	15	16.3	.....
1 month, under 2 months	103	10.9	90	10.5	13	14.1	.....
2 months and over	213	22.5	153	17.9	60	65.2	.....
Pending	24	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	24

[1] Cases originally disposed of in boys' court by holding for grand jury.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BOYS

To obtain information regarding the boys who came to the attention of the court a study was made through available records of the 909 boys involved in the 972 selected cases. Their records were studied in the social-service department of the boys' court, in the adult probation office, in the jail division of the bureau of social service, in the juvenile court, and in the Institute for Juvenile Research. Information was also obtained concerning the mental status of boys referred to the psychopathic laboratory. The data sought covered race and nationality, age, residence, and social status, including the parental condition and whereabouts of the boys, their employment, and their education.

RACE AND NATIONALITY

The number of negroes in the cases selected for study was out of proportion to the number in the general population of the same ages. Of the 853 boys for whom race was reported 736 were white, 116 were Negro, and 1 was a Filipino. (Table 20.) In 1920 negroes formed only 3.9 per cent of all boys 17 to 20 years of age in Chicago,[11] but they formed 13.7 per cent of the boys in the selected cases.

TABLE 20.—*Race and nationality of boys and of fathers of boys in selected cases dealt with by the boys' court during 1924 and 1925*

Race and nationality	Boys dealt with in selected cases		Fathers of boys dealt with in selected cases	
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution
Total	909		909	
Race reported	853	100.0	853	100.0
White	736	86.3	736	86.3
Native	660	77.4	191	22.4
Foreign born	69	8.1	490	57.4
Polish	18	2.1	125	14.7
Italian	12	1.4	78	9.1
Russian	11	1.3	38	4.5
Irish	3	.4	63	7.4
German	3	.4	49	5.7
Other	22	2.6	107	12.5
Foreign, not otherwise specified			30	3.5
Nationality not reported	7	.8	55	6.4
Colored	[1] 117	13.7	[1] 117	13.7
Race not reported	56		56	

[1] Includes 116 Negroes and 1 Filipino.

Ninety per cent of the white boys reporting nativity were native born. The number of foreign-born boys was low compared with the number in the population of the same age. In 1920, 15.5 per cent of the boys 17 to 20 years of age in Chicago were foreign born, compared with only 8.1 in the group studied. Of the boys in the cases

[11] Thirteenth Census of the United States, vol. 2, Population, p. 291. Washington, 1922.

selected for special study 57.4 per cent had foreign-born fathers.[12] (Table 20.) The 490 foreign-born fathers in the selected group were from many countries, only those from Poland, Italy, Ireland, and Germany comprising 5 per cent or more of the total number.

The race and nativity reported for delinquent boys dealt with in the Juvenile Court of Cook County—which includes Chicago—during 1924 and 1925 were very similar to the race and nativity for the boys dealt with in the selected cases, although the boys brought before the juvenile court were younger than those appearing before the boys' court. Of the 4,042 boys dealt with by the juvenile court 17.9 per cent were native white boys of native parentage, 58.8 per cent were native white of foreign or mixed parentage, 6.9 per cent were foreign-born white boys, and 15.8 per cent were negroes.[13]

AGE [14]

The number of boys in the selected cases was greatest at the lower ages of the court's jurisdiction. The 17-year-old boys comprised 29.9 per cent, the 18-year-old boys 29.5 per cent, the 19-year-old boys 25.5 per cent, and the 20-year-old boys 15.1 per cent of the total. Boys of each of these ages in the city of Chicago, as shown by the United States census of 1920, represent 14 per cent of the male population.

During 1924 and 1925 the social-service department of the boys' court interviewed 10,381 boys, of whom 62.3 per cent were 17 and 18 years of age, and 37.7 per cent were 19 and 20 years of age. (Table 21.)

Considerable discrepancy appeared in the dates of birth of the boys studied as recorded by the boys' court and by the juvenile court. Age could be obtained from the juvenile court only for the 224 boys who had juvenile-delinquency records and a few other boys for whom dependency records or records for other members of the family were found. The date of birth on juvenile-court records of 122 boys differed from that given in the boys' court records; for 21 of these the difference was less than a week, for 26 more than a week but less than a year, for 54 between one and and two years, and for 21 more than two years. Thirty-three boys tried by the boys' court were.

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[12] Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1920, vol. 2, Population, p. 291. Washington, 1922. Boys with native white fathers formed 22.4 per cent of the group studied and boys with native parents 25 per cent of the total male population of the same ages in Chicago. It is not possible to compare the figure for boys with foreign-born fathers with a similar one for the city population of the same age group because census figures are not given for boys with foreign-born fathers; the census groups are those with foreign-born parents and those of mixed parentage (1 parent native and 1 foreign born).

[13] Figures from other localities are not comparable unless the numbers of foreign born in the general population are taken into consideration. In the Children's Court of Westchester County, N. Y., in 1925, 69.6 per cent of the delinquent boys reporting were native born of foreign or mixed parentage, and in the Philadelphia Juvenile Court, from Jan. 1 to Aug. 15 of the same year, 52 per cent. (The Philadelphia Juvenile Court; a report as to its activities and service in juvenile delinquency, neglect, and dependency—Part 1 of the Twelfth Annual Report of the Muncipal Court of Philadelphia, for the year 1925, p. 62; Annual Report, Children's Court of the County of Westchester, N. Y., 1925, p. 33.) A study made in Boston by the Children's Bureau of parental factors in juvenile delinquency, with especial reference to alcoholism, showed that among the group studied three-fourths of the fathers were foreign born, a proportion very large in proportion to the foreign born of the city. These juveniles comprised a selected group of cases, however, sent to the Judge Baker Foundation because of evident need of special study. (Alcoholism among Parents of Juvenile Delinquents, by Alice Channing, U. S. Children's Bureau, in The Social Service Review, University of Chicago Press, vol. 1, No. 3 (September, 1927), p. 361.)

[14] In this study the age recorded by the social-service department of the boys' court at the first court hearing in connection with the scheduled offense was used wherever given. The lower age groups may include some boys who were even younger than they are recorded and whose cases should have been brought to the juvenile court.

according to juvenile-court records, under 17 years of age. These included 22 boys recorded as 17 years of age in the boys' court, 7 boys recorded as 18, 3 recorded as 19, and 1 recorded as 20. Seven boys recorded as under 21 by the boys' court were, according to juvenile-court records, over 21 years of age.

TABLE 21.—*Ages of boys subject to the jurisdiction of boys' court (17 to 20 years of age) known to social-service department and of boys in selected cases dealt with by boys' court during 1924 and 1925*

Age	Boys 17 to 20 years			
	Known to the social-service department [1]		In selected cases	
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution
Total	10,381	100.0	909	100.0
17 years	2,832	27.3	272	29.9
18 years	3,636	35.0	268	29.5
19 years	2,412	23.2	232	25.5
20 years	1,501	14.5	137	15.1

[1] Figures furnished by social-service department of boys' court.

From the conflicting information as to age in the various sources used in this study, one must conclude that the age data were far from accurate, and that the only way in which it could be made certain that a boy would receive the treatment to which he is legally entitled would be by obtaining documentary proof of age before court action.

RESIDENCE AND SOCIAL STATUS

Of the 834 boys for whom residence was reported 803 (95 per cent) had lived in Chicago at least two months before the occurrence of the offense studied.

Most of the boys were unmarried, only 23 (2.6 per cent) of the 895 reporting marital status being married at the time of the offense. Of the boys who were married 2 were 17 years old, 6 were 18, 8 were 19, and 7 were 20.

The person or persons with whom the boy was living at the time of the offense was reported for 766 boys. (Table 22.) Of this number 57.2 per cent lived with both their own parents and 5.3 per cent with one parent and a step-parent.[15] Nearly 20 per cent (151 boys) lived with only one parent; the other parent was dead in all except 13 cases, in 7 of which the parents were divorced, in 3 the father had deserted the family, and in 3 the father was separated from the family for other reasons. Nearly 18 per cent (136) did not live with their parents; 59 lived in other family homes (including boys who were married and living in their own homes), and 70 in rooming

[15] For many boys the only available information was that obtained by the social-service department through a brief interview with the boy. It is probable that some of the boys who stated that they were living with their parents were living with parent and step-parent, or possibly with one parent only.

houses. Altogether, 82.2 per cent came from homes in which one or both parents were living.

TABLE 22.—*Whereabouts at time of offense of boys in selected cases dealt with by the boys' court during 1924 and 1925*

Whereabouts of boy at time of offense	Boys dealt with in selected cases	
	Number	Per cent distribution
Total	909	
Reported	766	100.0
In parental home	630	82.2
Both parents	438	57.2
Mother and stepfather	34	4.4
Father and stepmother	7	.9
Mother only	124	16.2
Father only	27	3.5
In other family home	59	7.7
Rooming	70	9.1
Other	7	.9
Not reported	143	

Of 16,258 boys appearing before 42 juvenile courts throughout the country who reported whereabouts, the Children's Bureau found that 67 per cent lived with both parents and 33 per cent came from homes broken by death, desertion, divorce, or separation.[16] Of 2,378 delinquent children referred to the Judge Baker Foundation clinic from July 1, 1917, to June 30, 1925, the proportion (58 per cent) living with both their own parents was approximately the same as the proportion among boys included in this study. The proportion living with either one or both parents was much smaller than among the boys who were brought before the Chicago boys' court. Only 68 per cent of the Boston children were living in homes with one or both parents or one parent and a step-parent, as compared with 82.2 per cent of the boys included in this study.[17] The latter figure is lower, however, than that found in the group of 5,567 delinquent children dealt with by the Philadelphia juvenile court during 1924 and 1925, of whom 88 per cent were living with one or both parents and 55 per cent with both parents. In Westchester County the percentage of delinquent boys dealt with in 1926 living with both their own parents was 70.8.[18]

These figures for delinquent children and boy offenders show that approximately one-third to two-fifths come from broken homes. The situation among nondelinquent children or children in the general population is not so well known, but where studies have been made the proportion from broken homes has been found to be much smaller. In a study of children in street trades the Children's Bureau found that 78 per cent of 4,192 boys engaged in street trades

[16] Juvenile-Court Statistics, 1927, p. 9. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 195. Washington, 1929.
[17] Alcoholism among Parents of Juvenile Delinquents, pp. 366, 367.
[18] Annual Report, Children's Court of the County of Westchester, N. Y., 1926, p. 41.

in four large cities were living with both their own parents. A group more representative of the whole population comprised 3,198 children attending three public schools in New York City, 80.7 per cent of whom were found to be living with both their own parents.[19] These groups, however, were composed of somewhat younger children than the boys' court group, and the expectation would be that the percentage of broken homes would be somewhat larger in the older age group.

The families of more than half the boys (53.7 per cent) were known to at least one social agency, as indicated by social-service exchange registration. The social agencies registered with the exchange included agencies that might have been interested primarily in the boy, such as the juvenile court and protective agencies, and agencies interested primarily in the family, such as relief and family case work agencies. This is a lower percentage than was found among 582 families in the Children's Bureau study of cases of delinquent children referred to the Judge Baker Foundation clinic for study, of which 70 per cent were registered by some social agency.[20] It corresponds closely to percentages of the families dealt with in delinquency cases that were known to social agencies in Philadelphia (54) and Hamilton County (Cincinnati), Ohio (51).[21]

EMPLOYMENT

At the time of their offense 462 boys were employed, 281 were not employed, 28 were reported in school, and for 138 employment was not reported. Little information was available regarding school attendance.

EDUCATION

It was difficult to obtain from available records the exact grade that these boys who had come into conflict with the law had completed before leaving school or at the time of their offense. The records in all the offices from which the information was obtained were intended to give grade completed, but it is probable that in some instances the grade reached was reported. This possibility should be kept in mind in the interpretation of these figures. (Table 23.) Of the 815 boys for whom information on schooling was obtained, 7.5 per cent had not completed the sixth grade; 9.3 per cent had completed the sixth grade; 22.1 per cent had completed the seventh grade; and 37 per cent had completed the eighth grade. Of the 192 boys who had had some high-school work 162 had not completed high school, 20 had completed high school but had gone no further, and 10 had had some college work. Two were said to have completed college, but as each was only 19 years of age it may be that the school referred to was of lower than accepted college standing.

Figures published by the psychopathic laboratory of the municipal court, covering 253 boys examined in 1918 and 1919, indicate that

[19] Slawson, John: The Delinquent Boy, p. 358. Boston, 1926.
[20] Alcoholism among Parents of Juvenile Delinquents, p. 364.
[21] The Child, the Family, and the Court, a Study of the Administration of Justice in the Field of Domestic Relations. Part II. Organization and Administration of Courts Dealing with Family Problems. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication (in preparation). The Hamilton County figures relate to the year 1923 and the Philadelphia figures to October, 1923.

boys sent to the laboratory were boys with lower educational attainments than the average among boys appearing in the boys' court, for only 8 per cent had completed the eighth grade, only 20 per cent had reached the eighth grade, and 58.5 per cent had not progressed beyond the sixth grade.[22]

TABLE 23.—*School grade*[1] *of boys in selected cases dealt with by boys' court during 1924 and 1925*

School grade	Boys dealt with in selected cases	
	Number	Per cent distribution
Total	909	
Reported	815	100.0
Under sixth	64	7.9
Sixth grade	76	9.3
Seventh grade	180	22.1
Eighth grade	303	37.2
Under four years' high school	162	19.9
Four years' high school	20	2.5
Under four years' college	8	1.0
Four years' college	2	.2
Not reported	94	

[1] Information from various sources. In some instances the school grade is that completed, in others that last attended. Original reports indefinite as to definition of grade recorded.

The proportion of the boys in the selected cases who had reached or completed the sixth grade was less than that of all the children entering the elementary grades in the United States, according to a study made in 1926; 92.1 per cent of the boys in the selected cases had reached or had completed the sixth grade, but 95.7 per cent in the country at large had reached the sixth grade. The percentage of boys reaching or completing the seventh grade was 82.8 per cent in the selected cases, and 79.5 per cent were reported as reaching the seventh grade in the country at large. Proportionately fewer boys in the boys' court than in the country at large reached grades above this, for among the boys in the selected cases 60.7 per cent had reached the eighth grade, only 23.5 per cent had entered high school, and only 1.2 per cent had entered college, whereas of all children in the country 72 per cent reached the eighth grade, 60.5 per cent entered high school, and an estimated 17.7 per cent entered college.[23]

MENTAL STATUS

According to the social service card records 152 of the 909 boys in the selected cases were referred by the boys' court to the psychopathic laboratory for examination. Information concerning diagnoses was obtained from the laboratory for 107 of these. Intellectual defect

[22] The Municipal Court of Chicago, Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Annual Reports, 1917–1920, p. 118.

[23] Survival Rates in Public Schools, by Frank M. Phillips, U. S. Bureau of Education. Mimeographed.

was classified into three grades: Paresis, senile dementia, and feeble-mindedness. The last is divided into the following grades: (1) idiot, mental age 3 years; (2) imbecile, mental age 3 to 6 years; (3) moron, mental age 7 to 11 years; (4) sociopath, mental age 12 to 14 years. The various types of emotional defect were classified as manic-depressive, epilepsy, and dementia præcox. According to an article by French Strother describing the work of the laboratory, dementia præcox is the insanity that causes nearly all crime, and the same basic symptoms—dissociation of ideas, callousness of emotion, and abrupt changes of personality—are said to be present in all degrees of this form of insanity.[24] It is stated to be of four types: (1) Simple, detected only by mental tests; (2) hebephrenic, negative or unresponsive; (3) katatonic, rigid or cataleptic; (4) paranoid, delusions, hallucinations. In addition to these four types the term "kataklonic" is sometimes used in the diagnoses to indicate a hyperemotional variety of dementia præcox.

In giving the intelligence rating of the boys various grades of each class were recognized. The following classification of the intelligence of the 107 boys reported upon by the laboratory varied from low-grade moron to average intelligence, with more than three-fourths in the three categories, high-grade moron, high-grade borderland moron, and low-grade sociopath:

Total	107
Average intelligence	1
High-grade borderland sociopath	1
High-grade sociopath	9
Middle-grade sociopath	4
Low-grade sociopath	27
High-grade borderland moron	18
High-grade moron	37
Middle-grade moron	6
Low-grade moron	4

Terms used to describe grades of intelligence vary so greatly that comparison is difficult. In the United States census of feeble-minded and epileptic persons in institutions for 1923 the use of terms is in accordance with those adopted in 1920 by the American Association for the Study of the Feeble-minded. According to this scale the highest grade among the feeble-minded is the moron, defined as "a mentally defective person having a mental age between 84 months and 143 months, inclusive (7 years and under 12), or, if a child, an intelligence quotient between 50 and 74."[25]

Only the boys classified by the psychopathic laboratory as morons (mental age, 7 to 11 years) would usually be classified as feeble-minded, and those described as sociopaths by the psychopathic laboratory would not be considered mentally defective. Probably many or all of those classified as high-grade borderland morons would be above the usual upper limit of feeble-mindedness. Among the 107 boys 47 (43.9 per cent) would be generally regarded as

[24] Strother, French: The Cure for Crime. World's Work, August, 1924, pp. 389–397.
[25] Pollock, Horatio M.: Feeble-Mindedness in Institutions in the United States, p. 4. Reprinted from State Hospital Quarterly [New York]. New York, 1926.

mentally defective on the basis of the laboratory reports, but only 10 had a mentality lower than that of a high-grade moron. Sixty boys (56.1 per cent) were in classifications ranging from borderland moron to normal mentality. Examination of the United States Draft Army showed that 30.3 per cent of the principal sample of the white draft rated under 12 years mentally.[26]

Results of examinations of all males investigated by the probation bureau of the New York Court of General Sessions in 1925 and 1926 showed that 25 per cent of the defendants investigated were mentally defective. A majority of these were rated as high-grade morons, and a relatively small number bordered on imbecility. The majority of the offenders investigated by the probation bureau were of dull normal mentality.[27]

Every boy for whom a report was obtained was diagnosed by the psychopathic laboratory as having dementia præcox. The emotional defect in 93 cases was described as dementia præcox katatonia; in 13 cases, dementia præcox hebephrenia; and in 1 case, dementia præcox kataklonia. Additional complications were found in many of the cases. The following list shows the types of dementia præcox found in this group of 107 boys:

Type of dementia præcox	Number of boys
Total (all with dementia præcox)	107
Katatonia	79
Katatonia +2	3
Katatonia, sex	2
Katatonia, sex pervert	1
Katatonia, exhibitionist, sex	1
Katatonia + moral defect	4
Katatonia + cocaine	1
Katatonia + epilepsy	1
Katatonia, hypochondriacal and somewhat effeminate	1
Hebephrenia	6
Hebephrenia with katatonic trends	5
Hebephrenia with katatonic trends and hypochondriacal	1
Hebephrenia + juvenile paresis	1
Kataklonia	1

When compared with classifications of other delinquent and criminal groups, these findings suggest a quite different use of terms by the Chicago laboratory.[28] For example, the Massachusetts State Department of Mental Diseases, during the six years preceding October 15, 1927, had examined 382 persons indicted by a grand jury for a capital offense or known to have been indicted for any other offense more than once or to have been previously convicted of a felony. Only 8.1 per cent of these persons examined were found to have a major psychosis, and only 22.3 per cent were found to deviate in any way (either mentally or emotionally) from the normal. The findings were as follows:[29]

[26] Psychological Examining in the United States Army, edited by Robert M. Yerkes. Memoirs of National Academy of Sciences, vol. 15, pp. 558, 564, and 790. Washington, 1921.

[27] Probation and Delinquency, pp. 79, 64.

[28] Since this report was written the psychopathic laboratory has been reorganized under a new director.

[29] Bulletin of the Massachusetts Department of Mental Diseases, vol. 12, Nos. 1 and 2 (October, 1928), pp. 8, 9. Gardner, Mass.

Total examined	382
Insanity (a definite major psychosis)	31
Psychopathic personality	12
Mental deficiency or defective delinquency [30]	34
Recommended for observation	8
No evidences of mental deviation from normal	297

In a survey which included mental examinations and diagnoses of 1,288 prisoners (1,216 men and 72 women) in 34 jails and penitentiaries of New York State, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene found 77.1 per cent defective in some way, but only 7.3 per cent were diagnosed as having mental disease or deterioration which they defined as "clear-cut mental disorder or a deterioration of mental capacity as a result of disease." The other defective prisoners were classified as dullard, 7.2 per cent; borderline mental defect, 5.4 per cent; mental defect, 7.6 per cent; psychopathic personality, 42.2 per cent; psychoneurosis, 1.5 per cent; epilepsy, 0.9 per cent; personality defect, 4.5 per cent; unascertained, 0.5 per cent.[31]

The persons examined in Massachusetts and New York were not limited to any particular age so that many of them were older than the boys included in the Children's Bureau study. Observers of juveniles report very small proportions with definite psychoses. Dr. Cyril Burt, an English psychologist, reporting on 197 boys and girls ranging in age from 5 to 18 years, says, "In the whole of the group here studied only one instance was found of grave psychosis—a girl of 16 suffering from dementia præcox. Absolute insanity, of whatever form, is all but nonexistent among the young."[32] Doctor Healy, studying 4,000 repeated juvenile offenders, half in Chicago and half in Boston, found 5.6 per cent of the Chicago children and 1 per cent of the Boston children suffering from psychoses. In addition, 2.8 per cent of the Boston children were diagnosed as psychopathic personalities, 2 per cent in each city as constitutional inferiors, and 5.5 per cent in Chicago, and 1.6 per cent in Boston as epileptics.[33]

Of the 909 boys involved in the group of cases selected by the Children's Bureau for special study 36 had been examined at the Institute for Juvenile Research at some time—most of them several years prior to appearance before the boys' court. Intelligence quotients were secured for 26 of these boys; 8 were between 50 and 70, 12 between 70 and 90, 4 between 90 and 110, and 2 were 110 or more.

Eighteen of the 36 boys referred to the Institute for Juvenile Research by various agencies were among those referred to the psychopathic laboratory by the boys' court. Diagnoses from the laboratory were obtained for 14 of these cases. Although not given in the same terms, the intelligence ratings of the two examinations agree fairly closely, especially when possible changes due to difference in time are considered. Diagnoses of these cases together with the diagnosis of one boy at the Psychopathic Hospital follow:

[30] The latter designation is "more of a legal-psychological than a psychiatric one, as the law of Massachusetts provides for the commitment of certain mentally deficient offenders to a special State institution for defective delinquents."

[31] Report of a Mental Hygiene Survey of New York County Jails and Penitentiaries, pp. 8, 10. Frankwood E. Williams, M. D., V. V. Anderson, M. D., directors. National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York City, 1924.

[32] Burt, Cyril: The Young Delinquent, p. 569. New York, 1925.

[33] Delinquents and Criminals, pp. 13, 151, 152, 153, 273.

Place of examination	Date	Diagnosis [34]
1. *a.* Psychopathic laboratory	1925	C. A. 17, M. A., 12⅛. Low-grade sociopath+dementia præcox katatonia.
b. Institute for Juvenile Research	1922	C. A. 16½, M. A. 16, I. Q. 94. Adequate intelligence.
2. *a.* Psychopathic laboratory	1925	C. A. 17, M. A. 12. Low-grade sociopath+dementia præcox katatonia.
b. Institute for Juvenile Research	1922	C. A. 13 9/12, M. A. 11 3/12, I. Q. 81. Dull normal.
3. *a.* Psychopathic laboratory	1925	C. A. 21, M. A. 12⅜. Low-grade sociopath+dementia præcox katatonia.
b. Institute for Juvenile Research	1919	C. A. 14, M. A. 9½. High-grade moron.
4. *a.* Psychopathic laboratory	1925	C. A. 17, M. A. 11⅛. High-grade borderland moron+dementia præcox katatonia.
b. Institute for Juvenile Research	1924	C. A. 16 7/12, M. A. 14 3/12, I. Q. 89. Examination suggested psychopathic makeup of boy and likelihood of a continued delinquent career.
5. *a.* Psychopathic laboratory	1924	C. A. 17, M. A. 11⅜. Low-grade sociopath+dementia præcox katatonia.
b. Institute for Juvenile Research	1923	I. Q. 80.
6. *a.* Psychopathic laboratory	1924	C. A. 17, M. A. 12⅜. Low-grade sociopath+dementia præcox katatonia.
b. Institute for Juvenile Research	1919	C. A. 13 1/12, M. A. 10 9/12, I. Q. 80.
7. *a.* Psychopathic laboratory	1924	C. A. 21, M. A. 12⅛. Low-grade sociopath+dementia præcox katatonia.
b. Psychopathic Hospital	1920	Mental defective, beginning hebephrenic dementia præcox.
c. Institute for Juvenile Research	1919	C. A. 15, M. A. 10 3/12, I. Q. 68. Psychoneurosis, organic deterioration with psychotic features.
8. *a.* Psychopathic laboratory	1926	C. A. 21, M. A. 10 2/12. High-grade moron+dementia præcox katatonia.
b. Institute for Juvenile Research	1921	C. A. 15 2/12, M. A. 8½, I. Q. 56. Feeble-minded.
9. *a.* Psychopathic laboratory	1924	C. A. 17, M. A. 12⅜. High-grade sociopath+dementia præcox katatonia.
b. Institute for Juvenile Research	1923	C. A. 14 8/12, M. A. 13 4/12, I. Q. 91. General and sex development of boy 12–13 years.
c. Institute for Juvenile Research	1924	I. Q. 90. Unreliable.
10. *a.* Psychopathic laboratory	1924	C. A. 17, M. A. 12⅜. High-grade sociopath+dementia præcox katatonia.
b. Institute for Juvenile Research	1924	C. A. 17 5/12, M. A. 13 7/12, I. Q. 85. Dull and backward; poor attention.
11. *a.* Psychopathic laboratory	1925	C. A. 17, M. A. 12⅛. Low-grade sociopath+dementia præcox katatonia.
b. Institute for Juvenile Research	1923	C. A. 14 9/12, M. A. 14 5/12, I. Q. 98. Adequate intelligence.
12. *a.* Psychopathic laboratory	1924	C. A. 17, M. A. 9⅜. Middle-grade moron+dementia præcox katatonia.
b. Institute for Juvenile Research	1924	I. Q. 52. Should be committed if becomes too great a problem.
13. *a.* Psychopathic laboratory	1925	C. A. 18, M. A. 8⅜. Middle-grade moron+dementia præcox katatonia.
b. Institute for Juvenile Research	1921	C. A. 14 2/12, M. A. 7 9/12, I. Q. 52. Defective delinquent.
14. *a.* Psychopathic laboratory	1925	C. A. 20, M. A. 9⅛. Middle-grade moron+dementia præcox katatonia.
b. Institute for Juvenile Research	1921	C. A. 16 1/12, M. A. 10 1/12, I. Q. 63. High-grade moron; suggests possible need of institutional care.

[34] C. A. stands for chronological age; M. A., mental age; I. Q., intelligence quotient.

PREVIOUS DELINQUENCY RECORDS

The court and agency records consulted in connection with this study supplied information regarding the previous court record of the boys. The cards on file in the social-service department of the boys' court contained records of previous cases in that court which were identified as belonging to boys included in the study, and the statements of the boys to the interviewers on the day of their court appearance. This yielded fairly complete information concerning their experiences in the boys' court. The investigations of the probation department contained the records in other adult courts, and additional information was sometimes obtained from other

records. The information obtained, however, can not be considered complete, and in regard to arrests outside Chicago, the only source of information was the statements of the boys. Probably these statements sometimes included arrests as well as actual appearances in court, and undoubtedly boys who had been in trouble several times did not give a complete account of their delinquencies. Because of the confusion it seemed better to consider the information pertaining to arrests rather than the information pertaining to court cases, and it is necessary to keep in mind that the number of arrests given is probably a very conservative statement. In the discussion that follows, arrests of boys of juvenile-court age resulting in reference to the juvenile court are not included.

PREVIOUS ARRESTS

Of the 845 boys for whom information from the sources named was available, 57.9 per cent had not been previously arrested, 25.3 per cent had been arrested only once, and 16.8 per cent had been arrested two or more times.[35] (Table 24.)

TABLE 24.—*Final disposition of case by the boys' court, grand jury, or criminal court, by specified number of arrests previous to first hearing, for boys in selected cases dealt with by the boys' court during 1924 and 1925*

Final disposition	Boys dealt with in selected cases								
	Total	For whom number of previous arrests was reported							Not reported
		Total reported	None		One		Two or more		
			Number	Per cent [1]	Number	Per cent [1]	Number	Per cent [1]	
Total	909	845	489	57.9	214	25.3	142	16.8	64
Disposed of	885	823	483	58.7	203	24.7	137	16.6	62
Discharged	434	397	259	65.2	82	20.7	56	14.1	37
Dismissed	153	145	77	53.1	45	31.0	23	15.9	8
For want of prosecution [2]	125	120	63	52.5	38	31.7	19	15.8	5
Not indicted by grand jury	23	21	14	------	5	------	2	------	2
Stricken out with leave to reinstate	5	4	------	------	2	------	2	------	1
Boy placed on probation	133	131	90	68.7	32	24.4	9	6.9	2
Fine imposed	77	69	31	44.9	18	26.1	20	29.0	8
Boy committed to institution	85	78	25	32.1	25	32.1	28	35.9	7
Transferred to other court	3	3	1	------	1	------	1	------	------
Pending	24	22	6	------	11	------	5	------	2

[1] Not shown where base is less than 50.

[2] Includes 2 nol-prossed.

The dispositions by the boys' court of the 483 first offenders for whom disposition was reported showed 66 per cent discharged or dismissed without trial, 17.8 per cent placed on probation, 6.1 per cent

[35] As would be expected because of the more limited sources of information, the report by the social-service department shows a much larger percentage of boys with no previous arrests, 78 per cent in 1924 and 76 per cent in 1925. (From figures in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Annual Reports of the Municipal Court of Chicago, 1921 to 1924, p. 109, and from unpublished figures furnished by the social-service department of the boys' court.)

fined, 2.9 per cent committed to serve sentences, and 6.8 per cent held for the grand jury. (Table 25.) The disposition by the grand jury and the criminal court increased the proportion of first offenders released without trial or found not guilty. In the final disposition by the two courts 69.5 per cent were discharged or released without trial, 18.6 per cent were placed on probation, 6.4 per cent were fined, and 5.2 per cent were sentenced to correctional institutions.

Among boys who were reported as never having been previously arrested a larger proportion were discharged, dismissed, or placed on probation than among boys who were reported to have been arrested. (Tables 24 and 25.) On the other hand, boys who had been previously arrested were more frequently fined or committed to institutions than first offenders.[36]

TABLE 25.—*Disposition of cases in boys' court, by specified number of arrests previous to first hearing, of boys in selected cases dealt with by the boys' court during 1924 and 1925*

Disposition	Boys dealt with in selected cases								
	Total		For whom number of previous arrests was reported						Not reported
			None		One		Two or more		
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	
Total	909		489		214		142		64
Disposed of	885	100.0	483	100.0	203	100.0	137	100.0	62
Boy discharged	423	47.8	256	53.0	77	37.9	54	39.4	36
Dismissed	125	14.1	63	13.0	38	18.7	19	13.9	5
Held for grand jury	87	9.8	33	6.8	25	12.3	22	16.1	7
Boy placed on probation	123	13.9	86	17.8	28	13.8	8	5.8	1
Fine imposed	77	8.7	31	6.4	18	8.9	20	14.6	8
Boy committed to institution	48	5.4	14	2.9	16	7.9	13	9.5	5
Transferred to other court	2	.2			1	.5	1	.7	
Pending	24		6		11		5		2

JUVENILE-COURT RECORD

Reliable information was obtained regarding juvenile-court records in Cook County of the boys in the group studied; for juvenile-court records outside Cook County, however, only the unverified statements of the boys were available. The figures as to the Cook County records were based on a careful check of every boy through the records of the social-service exchange and the Cook County juvenile court. Two hundred and twenty-four (24.6 per cent) of the boys' court boys had delinquency records in the juvenile court. Some had a long history of delinquency. Thus, although 101 boys (11.1 per cent) had had only one juvenile-court appearance in a delinquency case, 72 (7.9 per cent) had been before the court twice on different charges, and 51 (5.6 per cent) had been before the court three times or more.

[36] Possibly the proportion of repeaters given comparatively severe sentences would have been increased if the court had known the facts in all cases.

The percentage of boys with juvenile-court records does not represent the total amount of juvenile delinquency known to the authorities among these boys. An unusual system of cooperation between the police and the court has been worked out in Chicago. Police officers, known as police probation officers, are assigned for full-time service to the juvenile court and investigate the majority of complaints regarding delinquent boys, adjusting many of them without reference to the juvenile court. Such cases are not included in the juvenile-court records. In 1926, for example, 19,556 cases of alleged delinquency were investigated by police probation officers, of which 91.6 per cent were adjusted without filing petitions to bring the children into court.[37] A study of delinquency records of boys 17 to 20 years of age dealt with by the boys' court, made by the Illinois Association for Criminal Justice, showed that in many cases the offender had a long juvenile-delinquency record in police stations, although he had never been brought to the juvenile court.[38]

Table 26 shows the extent to which the same boys had juvenile-court records and previous delinquency records in other courts. Of the 847 for whom information as to both juvenile-court appearances and previous arrests is available, 46.8 per cent had neither a juvenile-court nor an arrest record, 11.1 per cent had a juvenile-court record only, 27.9 per cent had adult-court experience only, and 14.3 per cent had both juvenile and adult delinquency records before the offense included in this study. The percentage of first offenders is very nearly the same as that found by Edwin J. Cooley.[39] who states that in 44.5 per cent of the cases investigated by the New York Probation Bureau the defendant had never been arrested previously nor arraigned in juvenile or other courts.

TABLE 26.—*Previous court record of boys in selected cases dealt with in the boys' court during 1924 and 1925*

Previous court record	Boys dealt with in selected cases	
	Number	Per cent distribution
Total	909	
Reported	847	100.0
None	396	46.8
Juvenile court only	94	11.1
1 case	44	5.2
2 or more cases	50	5.9
Other court only	236	27.9
Both juvenile court and other court	121	14.3
1 case in juvenile court	51	6.0
2 or more cases in juvenile court	70	8.3
Not reported	62	

The interval between the beginning of the last juvenile-court case and the first known arrest after leaving the jurisdiction of the juvenile court was reported for 187 of the boys having juvenile-court

[37] The Illinois Crime Survey, p. 646. Published by the Illinois Association for Criminal Justice, Chicago, Ill., 1929.
[38] Ibid., p. 647.
[39] Probation and Delinquency, p. 87.

records. For more than half (56.1 per cent) the interval was two years or longer, for 22.5 per cent between one and two years, and for 21.4 per cent less than one year.

It would be expected that the proportion of boys in all the selected cases who had juvenile-court records would be less than the proportion reported among the group of these boys sent to the psychopathic laboratory for examination, since the latter presented, presumably, the more serious problems. The laboratory found that of 257 cases tabulated during eight months of 1918 and 1919, 43 per cent admitted previous records in the juvenile court.[40] The figures of the social-service department for all boys from 17 to 20 years of age appearing before the boys' court show that 11 per cent in 1924 and 14 per cent in 1925 admitted juvenile-court records.[41] The social-service department, as well as the psychopathic laboratory, relied on the boy's statement alone and therefore its records were not so complete as those obtained for the group studied.

COURT RECORD OF BOYS WHO HAD REACHED 21

Two hundred and fifty boys in the group studied had reached their twenty-first birthday on or before May 31, 1926. Further analysis was made of the careers of these boys who had been within the jurisdiction of the boys' court during a 4-year period except for those who had spent part of that time outside the city of Chicago.[42] In addition to the sources used for all the boys the records of these 250 boys were checked through the files of the secretary of police of Chicago in order to obtain every arrest on record against each boy. The names of 30 could not be found in the files of the police department, but for 220 the record of arrests from the seventeenth to the twenty-first birthday is as complete as it is possible to make it and is fully comparable with the juvenile-court records.

Of the 220 boys, 33.2 per cent had been arrested once during the period; 27.3 per cent twice; 21.4 per cent three or four times; 15 per cent five to nine times; and 3.2 per cent ten or more times. In all, 147 (66.8 per cent) were repeaters. If no other sources than those used for the whole group of 909 boys had been available for these 220 boys, it would have appeared that 52.9 per cent of them were repeaters, as compared with 42.1 per cent of the entire group. Seven of the 30 boys whose names could not be identified in the police-department files were known from other sources to have been arrested two or three times.

Only 47 (18.8 per cent) of the 250 boys had juvenile-court records, a smaller proportion than among the entire group (24.6 per cent). A similar proportion of the 220 whose postjuvenile records were complete to their twenty-first birthday (20 per cent) had juvenile-court records. The proportion having juvenile-court records was nearly twice as large among those who were repeaters after they had passed the juvenile-court age as among those who had been arrested only once—23.8 per cent as compared with 12.3 per cent. (Table 27.)

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[40] Report of psychopathic laboratory in Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Annual Reports of the Municipal Court of Chicago, 1917 to 1920, p. 119.

[41] From figures in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Annual Reports of the Municipal Court of Chicago, 1921 to 1924, p. 109, and from unpublished figures furnished by the social-service department of the boys' court.

[42] Figures for residence and social status indicate that the boys' court group was fairly stable. (See p. 89.)

TABLE 27.—*Juvenile-court delinquency records, by number of arrests between seventeenth and twenty-first birthdays for boys 21 years of age and over on May 31, 1926, in selected cases dealt with by the boys' court during 1924 and 1925*

Number of arrests between seventeenth and twenty-first birthdays	Boys in selected cases				
	Total	Juvenile-court delinquency record		No juvenile-court delinquency record	
		Number	Per cent[1]	Number	Per cent[1]
Total	909	224	24.6	685	75.4
Boys 21 years of age on or before May 31, 1926	250	47	18.8	203	81.2
Boys for whom number of arrests was reported	220	44	20.0	176	80.0
1	73	9	12.3	64	87.7
2 and over	147	35	23.8	112	76.2
Boys for whom number of arrests was not reported	30	3	----	27	----
Not reported whether 21 years of age May 31, 1926	24	----	----	24	----
Inapplicable (boy under 21 years of age May 31, 1926)	635	177	27.9	458	72.1

[1] Not shown where base is less than 50.

The conclusions suggested by this analysis are the same as for the entire group of boys studied (see p. 99), as repeaters during the boys' court age period comprised 67 per cent of this group, whereas only 20 per cent had juvenile-court records. The proportion of repeaters with records in other courts than the juvenile court had increased over the proportion among the entire group, most of whom had had less than four years outside the jurisdiction of the juvenile court. The proportion with juvenile-court records had decreased somewhat, possibly indicating that more of the younger boys were continuing delinquent careers begun as juveniles, whereas many of the older boys were beginning delinquency, having had no such conflict with authorities as juveniles.[43] This supposition is strengthened by the fact that among all the boys studied the proportion having juvenile-delinquency records was largest for the 17-year-old boys and decreased with each additional year of age. Of the boys who were 17 at the time of the offense studied, 32.7 per cent had juvenile-delinquency records; of the 18-year-old boys, 23.5 per cent; of the 19-year-old boys, 20.7 per cent; and of the 20-year-old boys, 17.5 per cent. This does not mean, of course, that the student of behavior problems would have found no evidence of delinquent tendencies in earlier years, but only that these boys had not been brought to the attention of the juvenile court.

INSTITUTION AND PROBATION RECORD

For 217 of the 224 boys in the group selected for study who had juvenile-court records information was obtained concerning the disposition of the last case in the juvenile court. Of these boys 105 (48.4 per cent) had been committed to an institution, 45 (20.7 per

[43] The cases included in the study were all dealt with in 1924 and 1925. Information concerning these cases was obtained in 1926. Selecting only those who had passed from boys' court jurisdiction by the date of the study resulted in an unduly large proportion, as compared with the whole group, of boys 19 and 20 years of age.

cent) had been placed on probation, and the cases of 58 (26.7 per cent) had been dismissed, dropped, or continued generally. (Table 28.) This is a large proportion committed to institutions for juvenile delinquents, inasmuch as commitments to correctional institutions formed only 27.9 per cent of all dispositions of cases by the juvenile court during the eight years previous to 1924. That the discipline of juvenile correctional institutions does not cure the delinquent tendencies of boys is corroborated by Doctor Healy. In his study of the later careers of repeaters in the Chicago juvenile court he found that an extremely large proportion (85 per cent) of the individuals committed to institutions as adults had previously been in juvenile correctional institutions.[44]

TABLE 28.—*Disposition in the juvenile court of last case of delinquency of boys in selected cases dealt with by the boys' court during 1924 and 1925*

Disposition	Boys dealt with in selected cases	
	Number	Per cent distribution
Total	909	
Disposition reported	217	100.0
Dismissed	13	6.0
Continued generally	45	20.7
Boy placed on probation	45	20.7
Boy committed to institution	105	48.4
Other	9	4.1
Disposition not reported	7	
No juvenile-court case reported	685	

Of the 909 boys included in the group selected for study 18.7 per cent had been committed to correctional institutions for either adults or juveniles before the offense studied. Those who had been on probation before the offense studied comprised 14.9 per cent of the total. The age of the boys at the time of the offense studied seems to have no particular significance in relation to previous institutional or probation experience.

COURT RECORD AFTER THE OFFENSE STUDIED

Eighty-nine per cent of the boys reported upon were within the jurisdiction of the boys' court at least six months after the offense studied. About one-fifth (21.4 per cent) were arrested after the scheduled offense. (Table 29.) The percentage of boys rearrested increased, in general, with the length of the period within the court's jurisdiction, though a somewhat smaller percentage was reported of those within its jurisdiction two years or more than of those within its jurisdiction between one and two years. Subsequent arrests were most frequent among those who had been in institutions following the offense studied, on original commitment or for nonpayment of fine. Of the group with institutional records of this kind 29.7 per

[44] Delinquents and Criminals, p. 78.

cent had been arrested subsequently, whereas rearrests were made of approximately one-fifth of those discharged or released without trial, of those placed on probation, and of the small number who paid their fines. (Table 30.) These figures may reflect in part a cause and in part an effect of institutional commitments. Doubtless the more serious offenders who would be most likely to come before the court again were more likely to be committed to institutions. Nevertheless, it is significant that institutional commitment in 29.7 per cent of the cases did not act as a deterrent to further violations of law and that the percentage of repeaters among those placed on probation was much lower than among those committed.

TABLE 29.—*Period of time within jurisdiction of boys' court after scheduled offense, by arrest subsequent to first hearing, for boys in selected cases dealt with by boys' court during 1924 and 1925*

Period of time within jurisdiction of boys' court after scheduled offense	Boys dealt with in selected cases						
	Total	Whose cases were disposed of					Whose cases were pending
		Total	Arrested subsequently		Not arrested subsequently		
			Number	Per cent [1]	Number	Per cent [1]	
Total	909	885	189	21.4	696	78.6	24
Period reported	847	847	189	22.3	658	77.7	
Under 1 year	328	328	54	16.5	274	83.5	
Under 6 months	96	96	10	10.4	86	89.6	
6 months, under 1 year	232	232	44	19.0	188	81.0	
1 year, under 2	420	420	112	26.7	308	73.3	
2 years and over	99	99	23	23.2	76	76.8	
Period not reported	34	34			34		
Inapplicable, not within jurisdiction	28	4			4		24

Not shown where base is less than 50.

TABLE 30.—*Arrest subsequent to first hearing, by type of offense and final disposition of case by boys' court, grand jury, or criminal court, of boys in selected cases dealt with by the boys' court during 1924 and 1925*

Type of offense and final disposition	Boys dealt with in selected cases						
	Total	Whose cases were disposed of					Whose cases were pending
		Total	Arrested subsequently		Not arrested subsequently		
			Number	Per cent [1]	Number	Per cent [1]	
Total	909	885	189	21.4	696	78.6	24
Disposed of	885	885	189	21.4	696	78.6	
Discharged	434	434	87	20.0	347	80.0	
Dismissed	153	153	32	20.9	121	79.1	
For want of prosecution [2]	125	125	28	22.4	97	77.6	
Not indicted by grand jury	23	23	4		19		
Stricken out with leave to reinstate	5	5			5		

[1] Not shown where base is less than 50.

[2] Includes 2 nolprossed.

TABLE 30.—*Arrest subsequent to first hearing, by type of offense and final disposition of case by boys' court, etc.*—Continued

Type of offense and final disposition	Boys dealt with in selected cases						
	Total	Whose cases were disposed of					Whose cases were pending
		Total	Arrested subsequently		Not arrested subsequently		
			Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
Disposed of—Continued.							
Boy placed on probation	133	133	25	18.8	108	81.2	
Fine imposed	77	77	21	27.3	56	72.7	
Paid	24	24	4		20		
Sentence served for nonpayment	53	53	17	32.1	36	67.9	
Boy committed to institution	85	85	24	28.2	61	71.8	
Transferred to other court	3	3			3		
Pending	24						24
Felony	227	226	60	26.5	166	73.5	1
Disposed of	226	226	60	26.5	166	73.5	
Discharged	73	73	26	35.6	47	64.4	
Dismissed	105	105	28	26.7	77	73.3	
For want of prosecution	77	77	24	31.2	53	68.8	
Not indicted by grand jury	23	23	4		19		
Stricken out with leave to reinstate	5	5			5		
Boy placed on probation	10	10	3		7		
Boy committed to institution	37	37	3		34		
Transferred to other court	1	1			1		
Pending	1						1
Misdemeanor	224	217	45	20.7	172	79.3	7
Disposed of	217	217	45	20.7	172	79.3	
Discharged	57	57	6	10.5	51	89.5	
Dismissed for want of prosecution	31	31	2		29		
Boy placed on probation	72	72	16	22.2	56	77.8	
Fine imposed	8	8	1		7		
Boy committed to institution	47	47	20		27		
Transferred to other court	2	2			2		
Pending	7						7
Quasi-criminal	458	442	84	19.0	358	81.0	16
Disposed of	442	442	84	19.0	358	81.0	
Discharged	304	304	55	18.1	249	81.9	
Dismissed for want of prosecution	17	17	2		15		
Boy placed on probation	51	51	6	11.8	45	88.2	
Fine imposed	69	69	20	29.0	49	71.0	
Boy committed to institution	1	1	1				
Pending	16						16

PROBATIONARY TREATMENT

Under the Illinois law boys may be placed on probation for definite terms of either six months or a year, and in practice the majority are released from probation at the expiration of their terms. If the judge considered it desirable, probation might be extended once for a period equal to that of the original term. Commitment to an institution might terminate probation before the end of the term. In 97 of the 129 cases in the group selected for study in which the defendants were placed on probation the probationer had been released

before the end of the study, in 88.7 per cent of the 97 cases because of the expiration of the term of probation and in 6.2 per cent because of commitment to a penal institution. (Table 31.)

TABLE 31.—*Results of probation, by reason for release from probation, in selected cases dealt with by boys' court during 1924 and 1925*

Reason for release from probation	Selected cases					
	Total	Results of probation				Inapplicable (still on probation or not placed on probation)
		Total	Satisfactory	Doubtful	Unsatisfactory	
Total	972	97	75	3	19	875
Term expired	86	86	70	3	13	
Committed to penal institutions	6	6			6	
Other	5	5	5			
Still on probation	32					32
Not placed on probation	843					843

At the time of release each case was classified by the adult probation department as satisfactory, doubtful, or unsatisfactory. Cases were usually considered satisfactory unless there had been a commitment, arrest, or failure to make payments which had been ordered by the court, or unless the whereabouts of the probationer was unknown. In 75 of the 97 released cases the results were considered satisfactory, in 3 doubtful, and in 19 unsatisfactory. (Table 31.) In 6 of the 19 "unsatisfactory" cases probation was ended because of commitment to a penal institution, and in the other 13 because of expiration of the term of probation.

In 12 of the "unsatisfactory" cases and in 7 others the boy had been rearrested while on probation. The total number of cases in which the boy had been rearrested during the probationary period represented 16.3 per cent of the 129 cases placed on probation. This is a large proportion when compared with the proportion reported by Edwin J. Cooley,[45] for of all the persons placed on probation during a period of nearly two years during which the Bureau of Catholic Charities carried on probation service for the court of general sessions of New York City only 7 per cent were subsequently rearrested for other offenses.

Upon request of the judge the adult probation department investigated cases before final judgment was pronounced. Of the 129 cases placed on probation 41.1 per cent had been investigated by the adult probation department before the boys were placed on probation. (Table 32.) Most of the cases which were still on probation at the conclusion of the study had not been investigated before this treatment was decided upon, whereas about half of the cases released from probation had been investigated. The 53 cases investigated presented only slightly more successful results than the cases not investigated by the adult probation department, for the results of

[45] Probation and Delinquency, p. 225.

probation were adjudged satisfactory in 78 per cent of the cases in which investigation was made and in 77 per cent of the cases in which investigation was not made.

TABLE 32.—*Results of probation in investigated and uninvestigated selected cases dealt with by the boys' court during 1924 and 1925*

Results of probation	Selected cases				
	Total	Placed on probation			Not placed on probation
		Total	Investigation made	No investigation made	
Total	972	129	53	76	843
Results shown	97	97	50	47	
Satisfactory	75	75	39	36	
Doubtful	3	3	1	2	
Unsatisfactory	19	19	10	9	
Still on probation	32	32	3	29	
Not placed on probation	843				843

A monthly report to the supervising officer is required of each probationer, and one visit each month to the probationer's home is required of the supervising officer. Thus the supervising officer should have 12 contacts with each probationer during a 6-month term and 24 during a 12-month term. Hardly more than half the cases on probation for a year or more had more than half the required number of contacts with the officer, and not quite two-thirds of the cases released from probation at approximately six months had more than half the required contacts. The average number of reports to the supervising officer per case was 5.1, and the average number of home visits made was 3.9 per case,[46] or an average of 9 reports and home visits combined among the 97 cases studied in which the boys had been released from probation.

[46] The chief probation officer stated that the record of these reports and visits was not complete, as some officers did not consider such recording important. Each officer kept a small pocket notebook in which additional information was recorded.

DETAILED STUDIES OF 82 BOYS

METHOD OF STUDY AND SELECTION OF CASES

To ascertain the characteristics, histories, and family and social conditions of the boys who appeared in court a small number (82 of the 909 boys in the group of cases included in the study) were visited at home and personally interviewed; their parents also were interviewed, and agency records were consulted.[1] The parent found at home, usually the mother, was encouraged to tell of the family life, the boy's life, his attainments and shortcomings, and her version of his offense and the manner of dealing with it. The boy himself was seen by a man agent who sought to obtain the boy's interpretation of his family and social life and his own problems, and his reaction to his court experience. Information was obtained also from family-welfare, relief, and protective agencies, and in a few cases from the records of social-service departments connected with medical agencies.[2]

These visits and interviews took place between August, 1926, and February, 1927, so that in every case at least seven months had elapsed since the court appearance that included the boy in the study (the longest possible period between a boy's court appearance and the interview was three years and two months), and in most cases the interval was one or two years. A great deal relating to the physical, mental, and social history that should be learned in an adequate investigation made for the diagnosis and treatment of the problems of each individual boy was not obtained in a canvass of agency records and through the brief interviews which were possible in an investigation of this sort. Nevertheless, it is believed that the case histories will give some idea how complex are the problems and the needs of these boys, and how carefully planned and individualized their treatment must be to change their interests and their attitude toward society.

It was desired that the cases to be studied intensively should be representative of the whole group and should yield material that would be helpful in the study of delinquency among boys above juvenile-court age. Consequently each major group of charges and dispositions is represented in the small group selected for home visits. The proportion of each charge and disposition, however, is not the same as in the whole group, where the less serious cases predominate. Because these less serious cases usually present fewer

[1] This was in addition to the court records that were consulted for the entire selected group.

[2] For a discussion of the importance of understanding boy life, especially in the cases of problem boys, and methods of personal interviews with boys, see Getting at the Boy Himself: Through the Personal Interview, by Pauline V. and Erle F. Young, in Social Forces, vol. 6, No. 3 (March, 1928), pp. 408–415.

social problems and shed less light than other charges on the problem of delinquency, the 82 cases selected for home visits included a smaller proportion of disorderly-conduct cases and a larger proportion of crimes of violence, sex crimes and offenses, and violations of liquor laws than the larger group of 972 cases, or than the whole number of cases heard in the boys' court in 1924 and 1925. (Table 33.) The percentage of boys who were discharged or whose cases were dismissed among those chosen for intensive study was somewhat smaller than the corresponding percentage among all the 972 cases included in the statistical study (53.7 as compared with 62.7). Selection was further directed so that the cases would be representative of the race, age, nativity, and status of the parents of the boys who come before the court. Moreover, the group intensively studied included cases not known to any court department outside the boys' court, nor to any social agency, as well as cases known to the psychopathic laboratory, the juvenile court, the Institute for Juvenile Research, and other social agencies.

TABLE 33.—*Type of charge in cases studied intensively and in all cases included in study*

Charge	Cases studied intensively		Cases included in selected group	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total	82		972	
Total reported	82	100.0	971	100.0
Crimes of violence and injuries to persons	19	23.1	82	8.4
Crimes and offenses against property	26	31.7	344	35.4
Sex crimes and offenses	13	15.9	38	3.9
Violating liquor laws	6	7.3	11	1.1
Offenses against public health and safety	1	1.2	42	4.3
Disorderly conduct	17	20.7	454	46.8
Charge not reported			1	

Following a brief summary of the most significant facts obtained regarding the 82 boys studied intensively, histories of 39 boys are presented quite fully, and are grouped according to the offense with which they were charged. In each group histories of boys who were discharged by the court or whose cases were dismissed are presented first, and histories of boys placed on probation, fined, committed to institutions, or held for the grand jury follow.

Care has been taken in presenting the stories to make the individuals concerned unrecognizable. Names of persons and places (except names of public institutions and agencies) and the dates of court appearances have been changed in every instance. Certain other changes have been made in many instances, for example in designating occupations. No alteration, however, is such as to change the picture given of the boy's surroundings, his family and community relationships, his own characteristics, his family and personal history, or his court experience.

SUMMARY OF HISTORIES PRESENTED

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BOYS

Of the 82 boys studied intensively 28 were in court only once and were not known to be chronic offenders; 3 were in court only once but were known to have been chronic offenders [3]; 21 had been in court more than once but were not confirmed offenders; 4 had long careers of delinquency, but the evidence indicated that their attitude toward society had changed; and 26 had long careers of delinquency and appeared to be continuing their criminal behavior. That is, on the basis of court record and available information as to habits 26 of these boys should be called confirmed criminals, 28 others had been repeaters or chronic offenders, and 28 had, so far as was known, committed only one offense. Fifteen of the 26 confirmed offenders had juvenile-court records, and 10, so far as was known, had had no early conduct difficulties. Five of the 28 boys who had committed only one offense had juvenile-court records, and 3 others had early conduct problems. Of the 54 repeated or chronic offenders, including the confirmed offenders, 23 were known to have been delinquent before reaching boys' court age, and 18 of these had juvenile-court records.

Information as to their adjustment to home, school, and work was obtained from the records of various agencies which had come in contact with the boys. The classification good, fair, or poor used in this discussion is not based on a definite method of scoring but represents the writer's impression of conditions as given in these records. Fair adjustment to their home, school, or working conditions just before their court offense and during their earlier school careers was more frequent among the nonrepeaters than among the confirmed delinquents. Of the 82 boys 20 seemed to have been fairly well adjusted at home, work, and school before their offense; 3 others seemed fairly well adjusted at home and work; and 1 at home and school. Among the 28 nonrepeaters 15 seemed to have been fairly well adjusted at home, school, and work before their offense; 1 at home and work; 1 at home and school; and 2 at school and work. Only 2 of this group, so far as could be ascertained, were unadjusted in all their relationships. On the other hand, of the 26 confirmed offenders, only 2 seemed to have been fairly well adjusted at home, school, and work, and 2 at home and work, whereas 11, so far as was known, were not satisfactorily adjusted anywhere.

When home, school, and work adjustments are analyzed separately, good or fair adjustments to home conditions seem to have been made by 42 of the 82 boys studied, poor adjustment by 20, and for 20 no classification could be made. Forty-eight boys seemed to have been well adjusted at school, 30 poorly adjusted, and the school adjustments of 4 were not reported. Adjustment at work seemed good or fair for 46 boys and poor for 29; for 7 it was not reported.

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[3] "Chronic offender" is used to denote the type of repeater described by Doctor Healy: "The repeated offender is that individual who in spite of reprimands, warnings, probation, or punishment proceeds to further antisocial deeds. Some of the worst repeated offenders one has ever seen, including young adults, have managed through family protection to escape prior contact with the courts." Healy, Wm.: The Individual Delinquent, p. 13. Boston, 1915.

As students of delinquency would expect, little attempt had been made by the schools to adapt the curriculum to the needs of these boys. Indeed, it is probable that the fact that they were misfits and unhappy at school was not always known to their teachers. Truancy was treated by commitment to the parental school (see pp. 124, 127), which some of the boys frequently found much more to their liking than the public schools, but the causes of their truancy remained when they returned to their homes. Such statements as, "School is all right if you have the money to dress up and fly high and do nothing else, but for a poor boy he had better be at home or at work" (p. 125); "School is of no use to a working boy" (p. 126); or "I never had clothes like others, and somehow I never learned fast" (p. 145), indicate what seemed to be reasonable explanations of why they left school. If, as Slawson's researches indicate, the delinquent boy is deficient in verbal abstract intelligence rather than in nonverbal concrete intelligence, it may well be that the utilization of mechanical aptitudes in school rather than abstract capacities would remove many of the conflicts that lead to delinquency.[4]

The word "gang" found in many of the stories follows the usage of the boy or his parents. Occasionally one of them defined more or less clearly the meaning he attached to the word. The word may mean a group of neighbors who merely seek their recreation together or a closely organized oath-bound band whose actions are definitely without the law.

Gang members were found among all grades of repeaters and nonrepeaters. Of the 82 boys studied, 28 were known to be members of gangs, 49 said they were were not members of gangs, and 5 did not report as to membership. Among the 26 confirmed offenders, 15 were known to be gang members, 9 were not gang members, and as to 2 there was no report. Of the 28 nonrepeaters, 5 were gang members, 22 were not gang members, and as to 1 there was no report. Of the other 8 gang members, 1 was among the repeaters of long standing who had stopped their delinquencies, 1 was a chronic offender who had been only once in court, and 6 were among the 21 boys who were repeaters but had reformed after a short delinquent career. Only 13 boys were known to have belonged to clubs or organizations other than gangs.

The effect which their court experiences had on these boys was difficult to ascertain. Of the 82, however, 10 seemed entirely unaffected emotionally, whereas 47 indicated some degree of realization of the seriousness of their conflict with the law. No indication of the attitude of the remaining 25 could be obtained. Eight of the 10 obviously indifferent were among the confirmed repeaters, and the other 2 were boys with firmly established delinquency habits although they had been only once in court. None of the first offenders seemed utterly indifferent.

HOME AND NEIGHBORHOOD CONDITIONS

Among the 82 boys whose records were carefully analyzed and who were visited in their homes, definitely disadvantageous home conditions were present in 37 instances, whereas in 38 conditions at

[4] Slawson, John: The Delinquent Boy, p. 208 ff. Boston, 1926.

home appeared to be favorable. For 7 boys insufficient information was obtained to judge their home situation.

Forty-six boys were living in normal homes and 36 in homes broken by the death of one or both parents, desertion, divorce, or insanity. In 14 of the 15 cases in which home supervision was considered good or fair by the investigator, both parents lived at home. The fifteenth was a home with a mother only, the father being dead. Of the 20 cases in which the boys' adjustment in his home was considered poor, 5 were homes maintained by both parents and 15 were broken homes. Both parents were living at home in 29 of the 42 cases in which the boys were well or fairly well adjusted.

Of the 82 boys, 26 were known to have relatives who had criminal records; but as 3 pairs of brothers were included, only 23 families were represented in this group. Usually these relatives who had also been in conflict with the law were brothers or sisters of the boy; only two were fathers, and one was an uncle. Parents who had been in court for drunkenness or family difficulties were not counted as having a criminal record, although drunkenness and family discord created an environment that may have been an important factor in the boy's difficulties. The number of cases with evidence of criminal tendencies in the previous generation corresponds with the findings reported by E. J. Cooley, chief probation officer, court of general sessions, New York City.[5]

Psychopathic difficulties were known to have existed in the families of only seven boys, but in two more they were indicated, though no diagnosis had been made. In two families one or more members were addicted to liquor to an extent which seemed pathological, and in the family of one boy indications of both psychopathic difficulty and extreme addiction to liquor were present.

Neighborhood conditions were distinctly unfavorable in 42 cases, favorable in 31, and in 9 the knowledge of the neighborhood in which the boy lived at the time of his offense was not sufficient to form a basis of classification. In 25 cases both home and neighborhood conditions were considered poor, and in 19 both were favorable.

EARLY CONDUCT PROBLEMS

Information regarding the early behavior of the boys studied is far from complete. It was available in juvenile-court records for boys who had been in court, and in a few instances in records of protective agencies and of the Institute for Juvenile Research, but for most of the others only what the boy chose to tell was known. In only a few instances did the parents give any evidence of definitely troublesome behavior of their sons when they were small boys.

Only 31 of the 82 boys were reported to have presented conduct problems while under 17. Stealing was the form of delinquency most frequently reported; 18 boys were known to have stolen before the age of 17. Ten of these 18 reported other delinquencies; 9 of them were also truants, 1 of them having given trouble through sex misbehavior also and 1 through bad behavior, which included throwing things at his mother. One who was not a truant had stolen and given trouble through sex and other misbehavior. Only 13 boys

[5] Cooley, Edwin J.: New Goals in Probation, p. 29. New York, 1926.

were known to have been truants, and only 2 of these presented no other conduct problem. Sex delinquency, of which there was undoubtedly incomplete reporting, was known to have been a problem in the cases of only 7 boys. In 2 cases this was combined with other conduct described and in another with fighting. Fighting was the only behavior problem reported for 2 boys, malicious mischief and destruction for 1, and general incorrigibility for another.

In 15 of the 18 cases in which the boy had stolen while of juvenile-court age the later offenses included similar acts. In 2 of the 18 the later offenses were sex offenses, and in 1 the only later trouble was a disorderly-conduct charge growing out of family difficulties. Of the 7 boys with records of juvenile sex delinquency 6 were in court later for sex offenses, and the other, who had also stolen when under 17, was stealing when older. Of the 5 boys whose juvenile delinquencies included fighting, 4 were later in trouble for fighting and 1 for stealing. (One of the 4 had been both a sex delinquent and a fighter as a juvenile and continued both habits when under the jurisdiction of the boys' court.)

No court records as juvenile delinquents were reported for 59 of the 82 boys. Seventeen of the 23 who had had contacts with juvenile courts were charged with felonies in the boys' court, 4 with misdemeanors, and 2 with quasi-criminal offenses. Less than half of those without juvenile-court records (28 out of 59) were charged with felonies in the boys' court, 18 were charged with misdemeanors, and 13 with quasi-criminal offenses. That is, more than half the boys without juvenile-court records were charged in the boys' court with minor offenses, compared with only a fourth of the boys with juvenile-court records.

Of the 59 boys without juvenile-court records 6 were known to have been delinquent as juveniles. For 26 other boys the information obtained indicated the existence during their childhood of such conditions as extreme poverty, domestic discord, or delinquency of some member of the family. The histories of 27 boys, doubtless incomplete, revealed no such problems. Of the 32 cases in which some problem existed only 13 were known to agencies. In 5 of the 13 cases the families were known to the juvenile court either because of dependency or because of the delinquency of another member of the family. In 4 cases the family was known to a juvenile protective association—in 2 of these cases because of immorality in the home, in 1 because of the sexual delinquency of the boy, and in the fourth through the fact that an uncongenial home situation had been brought to the attention of the association. In 3 cases a family-welfare society was the only agency knowing the families, and in 2 of these the economic situation apparently was the only difficulty; in the third case the boy admitted early delinquencies. The thirteenth family was known to a family-welfare society and to a psychological clinic, but their interest centered in other members of the family and little was done for the boy, who admitted early sex delinquencies.

The fact that conditions found in the home or neighborhood might be expected to lead to delinquency was not often mentioned in the case records, except those of the juvenile court and the Insti-

tute for Juvenile Research. (Only 3 of the 82 boys had been examined at the institute and only 17 at the psychopathic laboratory of the municipal court.) In six cases known to social agencies home conditions were recognized as being definitely dangerous, in one case the boy's recreation was mentioned as needing change and supervision, and in another both unfavorable home conditions and recreation needs were noted. In two of these cases no attempt at improvement was recorded, and the only attempt at correction in four of the six other cases was through institutional treatment of the boy. Other means were used in two cases by private organizations after examination by the Institute for Juvenile Research. In two of the three cases of boys examined at the institute a private agency attempted treatment. For one a military school was recommended by the institute, but the family could not be persuaded to send the boy to it; for another intensive supervision was recommended, but the family did not cooperate. In the third case the home care was at fault, and the court finally committed the boy to an institution. In two of the cases examined by the institute the boy was also examined at the psychopathic laboratory of the municipal court, but no recommendations were known to have been made by that organization beyond the statement that the boys were "not committable."

In general, the situations most seriously in need of improvement seem to have been reported to the juvenile court, but little long-continued and intensive effort was made by other agencies to improve conditions or behavior before resorting to the court. The case on page 197 shows the successful result of thorough and long-continued effort on the part of the juvenile-court officers. The contact of social agencies with some of the families in which dangerous conditions existed was either too superficial or too temporary to prevent the delinquency which, it would seem, might have been expected unless these conditions were changed. The failure of such passing contact—characterized by incomplete investigation of the boys' needs and problems by several agencies and by sustained attempt at assistance by none—to solve the boys' conduct problems in the cases studied confirms the frequently expressed opinion of the importance of intelligent, intensive, and continued case work if good results are to be obtained.[6]

TREATMENT BEFORE COURT DISPOSITION

MENTAL EXAMINATIONS AND SOCIAL INVESTIGATIONS

So far as could be ascertained, the results of the mental examinations made in the psychopathic laboratory were not made the basis for action unless the boy was considered so definitely defective as to need institutional care. If the laboratory reported that a boy was committable to an institution for the feeble-minded or epileptic the court then endeavored to obtain the consent of the boy's family and to commit him to the institution. Or if the director of the laboratory found that he was psychopathic the boy was sometimes discharged by the court and sent to the psychopathic hospital for obser-

[6] See, for example, Probation and Delinquency, p. 394.

vation. If no defects warranting commitment or observation were found apparently the boy was dealt with in the same way as boys who had not been examined. The judge may have been told the laboratory findings in detail, but no evidence of this appeared on the records. The only entries relating to mental conditions made on the cards in the social-service department were "committable" and "not committable."

Of the 82 boys, 17 were examined by the psychopathic laboratory. One was reported "committable" and was committed to the State school for the feeble-minded; 4 were reported "not committable," and of these 1 was placed under supervision of a private society, 2 were placed on probation, and 1 was committed to the house of correction. The mental status of 12 boys referred to the laboratory was not reported on the records of the social-service department. Of these 12, 1 was discharged and sent to the psychopathic hospital from which he was also discharged, and the others discharged, placed on probation, or committed to correctional institutions.

Through the cooperation of the director of the psychopathic laboratory, the results of the laboratory examination were obtained for 15 of the 17 boys referred for examination. In analyzing these results it should be borne in mind that no distinction was made in the laboratory between major and minor psychoses, and that some of the cases classified as dementia præcox might have been classified differently by other laboratories. (See p. 94.) The laboratory records showed that all the boys were found to have dementia præcox; 3 had dementia præcox hebephrenia; 1, dementia præcox hebephrenia with katatonic trends and hypochondriacal; 9, dementia præcox katatonia; and 2, dementia præcox katatonia plus 3. The reported mental ages of these boys ranged from 10⅓ to 12⅗, with a second mental age for one boy of 13. Their mental development was classified as ranging from high-grade borderland moron to high-grade sociopath, 3 being high-grade borderland morons, 5 high-grade morons, 3 low-grade sociopaths, 3 high-grade sociopaths, and 1 high-grade borderland sociopath. The proportion of these 15 boys who were apparently making good at the close of this inquiry was about the same as the proportion of the whole group (82) studied intensively. Five of the 15 boys for whom laboratory reports were obtained seemed to have readjusted their behavior satisfactorily, 9 had not, and 1 was still in an institution.

Only 1 of the 7 boys in whose families psychopathic trouble was reported in this study was referred to the psychopathic laboratory by the boys' court. One of the 5 boys in whose family such trouble was suspected had been sent to the laboratory.

In only 3 of the 82 cases studied was there evidence that the judge had before him information as to the social aspects of the case. In these cases investigation had been made by private agencies.

TREATMENT BY POLICE

Many boys told of cruel treatment by the police to themselves or to others. It was not possible in a study of this kind to attempt to verify their statements. (See p. 47.) Some boys appeared to take for granted as part of the proceedings "goldfish," "chunking," and

other terms by which they denoted brutality,[7] but such testimony as to police methods was not unanimous. Thus one boy said that if he were the police undoubtedly he would have treated such a boy as himself worse than he had actually been treated. A few thought that treatment by police as well as all treatment during detention was as good as people deserved who had got themselves into such trouble, and other boys reported fair treatment by the police. Following are some instances of ill-treatment which the boys told:

A boy whose only contact with the police and court followed a charge by a drunken man that he was a robber, said that he was kept by the police unbooked for four days and beaten in an attempt to obtain a confession. When finally taken to court he was at once discharged as not guilty. He expressed a desire for revenge.

A negro boy who had been in court only once and who in the course of the interview maintained his complete innocence of the offense charged, stated that he was beaten and kept awake seven days and nights until he became so tired that he signed the confession which was put before him.

A boy with several offenses on his record said that on one occasion he was beaten until he could not walk and then beaten again until he "passed out."

Other boys describe the treatment thus: "The police walloped me with a chunk of rubber to get me to sign"; "they nearly killed me"; "they showed me the goldfish and everything"; "they made pork chops out of me with their shoes and clubs."

Only 2 of the 82 boys studied were released by the police on merely the boy's own promise to appear at court. Both were known to the police as reliable; one had no record of any other offense, and the other had only slight charges against him.

DISPOSITION OF CASES

DISMISSALS

Many instances were found of discharges or dismissals when intensive case work would seem to have been necessary if further and more serious delinquencies were to be prevented. Such a case is that of Joseph Dzuipla (p. 195), who escaped all treatment and punishment in six of eight court appearances and who finally, in his ninth court case, was adjudged guilty of manslaughter. However, analysis of the cases in which all charges brought against a boy were discharged or dismissed—that is, in which no treatment was prescribed for the boy by the court at any time—showed that in most instances the action would seem to have been justified. Among the 16 cases of this kind were accidental difficulties leading to arrests and cases of mistaken identity. Only one of the boys had been known to the juvenile court, and in his case the offense was slight and the home conditions were good. In two cases, however, both involving sex offenses, some supervision by the court seemed desirable. One of the boys needed to be helped to an interest in wholesome activities as a substitute for his interest in sex. In another

[7] The boys used the phrase "being shown the goldfish" in the sense of "seeing stars" to denote the treatment received when they were placed in a dark room around which several policemen were stationed. The boys said they were pushed from one officer to another, receiving a hit from each one. "Chunking" is the term used for punching with fists or clubs. The "goldfish" is described somewhat differently in Police and the Third Degree, by Sherman W. Searle, in the Welfare Magazine (published by the Illinois Department of Public Welfare) for April, 1926, p. 6. "The 'goldfish' consists of a piece of copper cable used in wiring telephone switchboards. This cable is drawn through a rubber hose. The iron rods are used to strike the victim on the shins, while with the goldfish they tap them on the head and the back of the neck for hours, usually with short intervals of rest, during which time they are continually questioned."

case a young man engaged in an immoral and illegal business was released and returned to the same occupation. In 7 of the 14 cases in which no court treatment was given at any time and need for intensive work did not appear to exist the charge was disorderly conduct, in 1 disorderly conduct and rape, in 1 assault and battery, in 1 violation of a liquor law, and in 3 robbery or automobile larceny.

PROBATION

Of the 82 boys studied intensively 33 had been placed on probation at some time while under the jurisdiction of the boys' court. According to the records of the probation department at the time of discharge from probation, probation was considered successful in 19 cases, unsuccessful in 5, and for 9 there was no record. As a result of the study made by the Children's Bureau it was found that probation had been successful—that is, that the probationer had ceased to commit offenses against the law—in only 9 cases and unsuccessful in 16 cases. In 8 cases the information obtained was not sufficient to permit classification. Eight of the cases reported as a result of the investigations made in this study as unsuccessful were classified as successful at the time of their discharge from probation.[8]

To what extent probation methods followed by individual officers were responsible for results it is impossible to determine. From the boy's own statement of his probation more than the usual minimum routine supervision required in the adult probation department had been given in four of the nine cases in which probation was considered after investigation to have been successful. No evidence of more than the routine visits and reporting appeared in any of the cases in which probation was considered unsuccessful.

The type of case in which probation was successful varied. Two boys had only one court appearance, five had several court charges against them but their delinquent careers had been short, and two had rather long careers of conflict with the law. More than routine methods of probation were employed with three of the boys with short delinquent careers, and with one of the boys with longer careers who made good. Both the boys with only one offense recorded against them were placed on probation for rather serious offenses, robbery (placed on probation by criminal court) and automobile larceny, respectively, and both received only the bare routine of probationary supervision. Both came of good stock, but the incentive to crime in both cases came from within the family—in one case the urging of a criminally inclined brother and in the other too much repression which had driven the boy to undesirable outlets. Factors helping toward a successful outcome of the probation of these two boys with short delinquent careers who received no more than routine probation were the good home of the one and the removal of the other from poor surroundings to somewhat better ones through the efforts of the representative of a private agency. No circumstances more favorable to "reform" are discoverable in the

[8] In the two cases in which the boy was on probation more than once the result of the term of probation connected with the offense that brought the case within the scope of this study was considered.

cases of the other three boys whose brief delinquent careers seem to have terminated than were found in the cases of many other boys who were still continuing to commit offenses against the law, except the character of the probation service (more than routine) and the understanding helpfulness of the officers assigned them. This would seem to indicate that similar methods might have been successful if tried in other cases. In the case of the two boys whose long delinquent careers had apparently terminated there was also little to differentiate their situation from that of many others, though one had a father who took an intelligent interest in his son and the other lived in a good neighborhood. The chief difference between these two boys and others was the relationship established between probation officer and boy, for although in one case intensive supervision was not given the boy speaks of the benefit he derived from merely knowing such a man.

In the cases in which probation was not successful advantage was not taken of opportunities to help the boys during the period of probation. No two cases, however, presented the same combination of needs, so that only by the individualization that characterizes good case work could success have been expected. Outstanding needs in these cases of which careful and individualized treatment would take cognizance include the following: Adjustment of difficult family relationships, improvement of home conditions, change in attitude of family toward the boy, adjustment of employer's attitude toward the boy or of the boy's attitude toward his work, change of neighborhood, keeping the boy away from liquor, providing opportunities for wholesome recreation, providing opportunities for forming interesting friendships outside the gangs, substitution of other ideals for the hero worship of gang leaders, strict supervision or control for the boy whose intentions are good but who lacks strength to resist or avoid opportunities for wrongdoing, and change of the boy's belief that difficulty can be avoided by influence, bribery, or "slickness."

INSTITUTIONAL CARE

It was difficult to obtain any direct evidence of the effect of institutional commitments upon the boys. The boys were not unanimous in their judgments. Thus 8 of the 26 boys who received sentences insisted that the institutions were so bad that they had been cured by terms in them. Three of these boys were first offenders, but three of the five long-time offenders included in this group were at the time of the interview in institutions and perhaps overanxious to declare themselves reformed. Only four boys—two of them first offenders, another now in an institution, and the fourth a long-time offender who had apparently changed his ways—protested that institutions are definitely harmful to a boy. Eighteen of the 26, however, found conditions in the institutions bad, 5 considered the institutions good, and 3 expressed no definite opinion. Among the case histories given are found boys already confirmed in their criminal tendencies knowing how "to get on" in institutions and adjusting themselves to the discipline of the reformatory (see p. 151), just as experienced criminals adjust themselves to prison discipline and then return to their old life of crime. In other words, it is often the worst offenders who

find it easy to make a good institutional record. They have their own philosophy of acceptance when the "breaks" are against them. What institutions do to boys whose self-respect is not all gone and who are ashamed and humiliated to find themselves sentenced by a court is of real importance in a program of crime prevention.

Nearly all the boys had been detained pending court hearing or disposition. Most (35) of the boys who expressed themselves reported detrimental conditions in institutions, whether for care pending hearing or for care after sentence. On the other hand, 15 said that conditions were good. Others thought that such places were as good as the people in them deserved. One boy said that jail was meant to be bad; another that jail was for bums and fools; another expressed the feeling of several when he said no institutions were bad, it was the people in them who were bad. This feeling might be compared with Doctor Healy's statement that "Some part of institutional considerations will always have to do with bricks and mortar, but the core of the whole matter is the influence of man on man, the influence of officials on prisoners, the influence of prisoners on each other." [9]

STATUS OF BOY AT TIME OF INQUIRY

Satisfactory adjustment after court experience seemed to have been made by a surprisingly large number of boys. Twelve boys needed no readjustment, their connection with the court having been the result of mistake, accident, or very slight misbehavior. Nineteen had changed their behavior, their surroundings, or their employment, and had become well-behaved and useful members of the community. Six of these had had only one contact with the court, and the delinquent careers of 8 others were short, but 5 were offenders with long records. Marriage apparently was responsible for the change in the behavior of several; 4 of the 19 had married and another was about to be married. A change of home and surroundings had been beneficial to 4 boys, 4 others had behaved better since changing companions, and 1 had improved since obtaining satisfactory employment. The remaining 5 had made various changes in their life which had been helpful. All the boys who needed no readjustment had been discharged by the court. Of those who had made satisfactory progress, 5 had been in the house of correction, 7 had been on probation, 1 had been under informal supervision, and 6 had been discharged.

Twenty-two boys were still out of accord with the law-abiding elements of the community; and 16 others, although not definitely known still to be lawbreakers, showed little change either in conduct or in improvement of the conditions which contributed to their delinquency. Thirteen were in institutions (12 correctional and 1 for the feeble-minded) and therefore had no opportunity to demonstrate what their behavior would be in the community following their court experience.

The cases still definitely unadjusted included many boys who had committed several offenses and for whom different methods of treatment had been tried. At various times they had been discharged,

[9] Healy, Wm.: The Individual Delinquent, p. 315.

placed under supervision or probation, and committed to the house of correction, reformatory, or penitentiary. They were boys of whom it could be said that the various kinds of treatment available to the court had failed.

Most of the 16 boys who showed little change in conduct were charged with only one or two offenses and had received no intensive treatment, though they were in need of help because of the family situation or personal difficulties or shortcomings. Only 1 had been sent to a correctional institution, but 8 had been on probation, 1 had been under informal supervision, 1 was fined, and 5 were discharged.

CASE PROBLEMS PRESENTED

In the study of these cases the conclusion that stands out most clearly is that these young men who have violated the law are not a group presenting common problems and requiring similar methods of treatment. Each one had his own particular problems and difficulties, abilities and disabilities, advantages and handicaps, in his own person and in his environment. Among the boys charged with the same offense little similarity in character or situation is discernible. The "promising young robber, the lieutenant of his band," differs from the next young robber in many particulars.

These individual differences, of course, are well known to all who deal with unadjusted persons from the medical, the psychiatric, or the social case-work approach. It is especially important, however, in these days of public interest in crime and the treatment of crime for laymen to realize that the term "robber" or "burglar" or "thief" tells little about the kind of person with whom society must deal and nothing at all about the reasons for his delinquency or the methods by which he may be helped to reform.

CRIMES OF VIOLENCE AND INJURIES TO PERSONS

Among the 82 boys studied were 15 charged with robbery, 2 with assault with a deadly weapon, and 2 with assault and battery. The wide variations in characteristics and background already commented upon are well illustrated by the 15 accused of robbery. Among these is John Adams (case 1) whose name betokens his long American ancestry. He was in court seven times in two and one-half years and admitted connection with several of the offenses charged. When arrested on suspicion of a really serious offense, robbery, with which he had not been directly connected, he broke the code of his gang and told the police how to get hold of the guilty parties. Having violated gang ethics he had further battles to fight, but at the time of this study, with the help of his father (who had been brought to a realization of the boy's problem) and a capable probation officer, he seemed to have broken away entirely from his old associates and to have ceased his delinquencies.

Daniel McCune (case 3) was a fighter, a truant with a juvenile-court record at the age of 12, whose home as a small boy was miserable because of an insane mother and a drinking father. When his mother was committed to a hospital and his sisters to schools for

dependent children, he was left with his father, who gave him a poor home, no supervision, and a bad example. Daniel found bad company in his immediate neighborhood, became a drinker and a fighter, and was charged with robbery but discharged.

The childhood of John Zubawezas (case 5) was so hideous that it can hardly be described. At 21 he was embittered and at odds with the world. He had a long juvenile and adult court record, and belonged to a notorious gang of young boys, many of whom had been in much more serious trouble than John had yet encountered. The story of Wallace Moore (case 10) is in marked contrast to that of John. A negro boy from the South who belonged to no gang and had no friends in the North, he stoutly maintained his innocence of any crime but was nevertheless sentenced to the penitentiary for 10 years to life on a robbery charge, his first offense.

Illustrating crimes of violence other than robbery is the story of Tony Taglia (case 11), who, according to his own statement, worked for an organization that controlled vice dens and wielded considerable influence in the city. His occupation demanded occasional violence and occasional court appearances, but he anticipated no serious consequences to himself. An entirely different type is Joseph Straka (case 13), who was brought to court by his father whom he struck during a domestic altercation between his father and his mother. The parents had later been divorced, and Joseph had left home and was studying law. Charles Darnell (whose history is not included in this report) was in court only once, on a charge of assault and battery growing out of trouble he got into while drinking in a restaurant. He "hated standing up before the court room" and felt that the publicity of the hearing would prevent his "telling the judge if he had done anything bad."

The stories of these boys illustrate the many factors that may enter into their delinquency. Among these were broken homes and domestic discord (cases 1, 5, 8, 13); discontent with school (cases 3, 12); need for vocational advice (case 7); membership in gangs, some of them organized for the most vicious purposes and wielding political influence (cases 1, 5, 9, 11); lack of understanding of the boy's needs by his parents (case 7); ineffective probationary and parole supervision (cases 8, 12); and absence of constructive planning for the improvement of home conditions and guidance of the children by social agencies coming in contact with the families (cases 5, 12). The court treatment of these boys was not always constructive; sometimes they were dealt with with what appeared to be undue severity (case 10) and at other times with a leniency that overlooked entirely the boy's urgent need for supervision and guidance (cases 3, 12). An attitude of resentment, intensified in some cases into definite grudges and desire for revenge, was created in some of the boys, especially as a result of their experiences with the police, and these reactions menaced both the boys' future and the safety of the community (cases 4, 5).

The histories of 10 of the 15 robbery cases and 3 of the 4 cases of other crimes of violence follow.

1. JOHN ADAMS

Interview January 22, 1927.
Native white, parents native white.
Present age, 20; age at time of offense, 17.
Boys' court hearing, February 25, 1924. Robbery. Discharged March 15, 1924.
Lives at home.
Family: Father 61. Mother dead, sister dead; brother 28, married and living in his own home.

John is an agreeable and pleasant boy, well dressed and intelligent appearing, of medium height and weight. He was sent by the court to the psychopathic laboratory in 1923 for examination, but no report of this examination was entered on the social-service cards. The diagnosis shown on the laboratory records is: Mental age 12⅔ years, high-grade sociopath plus dementia præcox katatonia+3.

John was in court seven times in two and one-half years, according to court records. He himself described all these except two of the earlier charges. The offense included in this study was the fifth of those recorded. In December, 1922, a charge of disorderly conduct against him was discharged. He said of this offense: "The first time our gang and another got in a fight, and I got caught. That was all there was to it." The second charge, that of operating a motor vehicle without the owner's consent, was brought in May, 1923. For this he was placed on probation for one year. Of this John said: "In the next case I was in with some boys. One of them hooked a car and we all used it. We knowed where he got it. We got ourselves arrested and I got probation. That is the worst thing I ever done." Charges of assault and battery in August of the same year and of disorderly conduct in the next January were discharged. Then came the charge of robbery which was made the basis of the Children's Bureau study. This time the statement on the social-service card of the court was that he held up a Greek in a pool room. John said: "This time I got picked up on suspicion. The cops had an idea that some of our gang robbed a Greek and I got pinched for it. I didn't do it, but when they beat up on me I told them what I did know and they let me go and arrested the right ones." On the day he was discharged on the robbery count, he was charged with disorderly conduct and again discharged by the court. John's explanation is: "Those birds who got arrested had some pals in the gang and we got in an argument and I beat up some of them and the cops arrested me, and when I told the judge he let me go." The last charge, in 1925, was disorderly conduct, and he was discharged. John said: "The last time was just like the time before it. I give another bird a licking when he called me a squawker."

John stayed overnight in the police station several times. He said: "Them stations ain't like my daddy's home. They sure are nasty and unhealthy dumps." He explains that probation is "a law to give a decent boy a chance to be decent after he has been going wrong. Probation and the officer I got, and my good dad, and getting out of the gang, just saved me from the penitentiary. I was headed that way."

Of his whole court experience he said: "It was the best thing that could ever have happened to me. The judge sure had sense, but he didn't have the probation officer beat." He considers that since his probation and the time he was discharged for robbery he has had little difficulty. He has been angry a few times over pool games, but nothing bad has happened.

Mr. Adams said that he also is very grateful for his boy's probation. "It done him a world of good. Probation is like this: If the officer is the right kind and the boy has any stuff in him, it works; and if them two things ain't true, then probation is a waste of time and money." The father said that the probation officer tried to watch the boy's recreation and change his environment, and that the officer came around every month. He helped get the boy a job and arranged treatment for him when he was diseased, and helped in lots of ways by "cheering him and me up." According to the probation records, John reported nine times during the year he was on probation, and the officer visited the home five times.

The father and boy agree that John's old gang was a bad influence, and are very positive that his new companions and his break with the gang have been very good for him. His father said that John never had been hard to control, but that after his mother's death he was allowed to do too much as he pleased in the daytime.

Mr. Adams is a skilled workman, and earns $45 a week. His older son follows the same occupation and earns $40 a week. This son is married. After the mother's death Mr. Adams and John for a time lived in the home of the married brother, but after John's difficulties in court they realized that this home was not a good place for John and moved where they could make a home for themselves. According to the neighbors of the family, the men are "fine gentlemen," a great contrast to the wife and children of the older son. John and his father have a 4-room apartment in a good residential neighborhood, for which they pay $70 a month. It is somewhat elaborately furnished and kept in good condition. The father and son seem to be good chums. They go to church occasionally and go to motion pictures together often. Radio and magazines are the principal diversions in the home. Since John's court difficulties the father has made an effort to discipline his son and to be with him more. He says that he is not allowing him time to loaf and that he is teaching him the value of money and of a good job by making him pay his own bills.

John started to school when 7 and left when about 16. He had finished the eighth grade, having repeated one grade. He went to high school for awhile, but left because he did not like it. He thinks now that he should have remained in high school. He liked the commercial courses, and thinks he may study again in a night school.

He started to work as a messenger at $9 a week. At the time of the robbery charge he was not working. At the present time he is working as a clerk for a transportation company, and earns $25 a week. He pays $12.50 for room and board, and has saved $50. The father says that John has been a little indifferent to work until lately, but that he was always able to hold a job as long as he wanted it. John has had five different positions, and says that he left them in order to get more money or because he did not like the jobs. He did not work regularly for a time because he thought that he did not have to, but now he says he has grown older and knows that he ought to look out for himself. He seems to like his employers and fellow workmen and expects to work regularly.

John says of his conduct: "After my mother died I got started bad. Before then I wasn't in trouble. I got into a gang, and the gang was in with some wild girls. The first thing I knowed I had a dose of a bad disease. Then I got into this, that, and the other, went from bad to worse, until I broke off from the gang, and since then I have been associating with decent people." He admits that he left the gang after he had told on some of the members instead of taking punishment for them. He says that the gang wanted to take him back, however, but that his father and brother persuaded him to remain out. Since he has been out of the gang he has had no trouble. His recreations now are listening to the radio at home and going to shows with his father and to shows and dances with a "nice girl," whom he also visits in her home.

Apparently John is not the type of boy of whom gangsters are made. His break with the gang may be the making of him. In spite of the diagnosis of emotional defect made by the laboratory, this boy seems to be making good. Probation appears to have been the correct treatment, since he was fortunate enough to be supervised by a man who took some real interest in him. The probation officer evidently helped the father also to realize his responsibilities toward his son.

2. HENRY CAMERON

Interview November 10, 1926.
Native white, parents native white.
Present age, 19; age at time of offense, 17.
Boys' court hearing, May 15, 1925. Robbery. Case continued twice. Discharged June 9, 1925.
Lives with sister.
Family: In the home at the time of the offense were Henry's second cousin, her husband and six children, and Henry and two brothers, 18 and 20, and a sister 22. Boy's own family: Father dead, mother dead, two brothers and one sister married and living in their own homes.

Henry is a slender, quiet boy of medium height, rather backward in expressing himself but very pleasant and genial.

Only this one offense, in which Henry was accused of robbing a restaurant, appears in his record. In regard to it Henry said: "I was on the street in a crowd and the police came with a Chinaman and the Chinaman pointed at me and said 'There he is.' The police arrested me and took me to the station.

They told me I had better confess if I did it, but I didn't know what they were talking about and I must have shown it for they said: 'This kid never robbed that chink. Have him call up his family to bail him out'; but when my folks got there, it was too late at night. I stayed in the station all night and then for five days in jail until my brother got me bailed out for $10,000 by some friend of his. The judge was awful hard the first time at the court, but when I got a lawyer and he got evidence, he cooled down." Henry's cousin, with whom he was living at the time of his arrest, said that she and her husband went over to the station as soon as they learned Henry had been arrested, on a Sunday night. They had their "tax papers" in order to bail him out, but they were told it was too late that night. They did not offer to put up bail again, but several days later a friend of his brother put up bail for him. Henry told his cousin he would die if he had to stay in that jail any longer. During the interview he said: "That was awful! It was nasty and ugly and no comforts, and roughnecks to associate with." With regard to the court he said: "It scared me to death, but I had done nothing to be scared about so I don't see where I was helped." During the continuance of the case a representative of a private agency on duty at the court was asked to investigate and report to the court. The report indicated that home conditions were good and that Henry was a hard-working boy, highly spoken of by his employer. The cousin had told the investigator that Henry was in bed at the time the offense was supposed to have been committed. Probably this report led to the discharge of the case.

Henry's father died just before he was born, and his mother had a hard time making ends meet. She worked and kept the family together without applying to outside agencies for any aid except help in finding employment. When she died, eight years before the study, the children kept the home together for two or three years, the two oldest girls working away from home and keeping house at the same time. This proved to be too much for them, so a cousin of the mother, a Mrs. Miller, took all the children into her own house except the oldest brother, who had married. This made 14 persons in the 6-room house that she and her husband owned. All the boys (nine of them) slept in a very large room upstairs. Her own six children ranged in age from 2 to 17. The Cameron children married, one after another, and left her house, but even so the household became too much for her. When her youngest child was born she was very ill and her husband decided that the Camerons would have to live with one of the married brothers and sisters. A year ago, all of them but the two youngest, Henry and his brother, having been married, a sister, who is now 25, took the two boys into her home.

Mrs. Miller's home is very attractive. The furnishings include a piano, phonograph, some books and magazines. The house is on a shady street of one and two story buildings in a new residential neighborhood. Mrs. Miller, as well as the father and mother of the Cameron children, is of Irish extraction. Mr. Miller is a German and very strict with the children. They all attend church. They are Catholics and Mr. Miller is very active in church societies.

The neighborhood in which Henry now lives with his sister is an attractive middle-class residential community. His sister's home has a pleasant living room containing a radio, phonograph, piano, books, and magazines. The sister and her husband seem deeply interested in Henry, although Henry is inclined to feel that they treat him like a child. His sister is more aggressive than he and is apt to speak for him in conversation and seems to influence his thinking and acting. Henry and his brother and brother-in-law are earning good wages, and the economic status of the family is good. The other brothers and sisters also are doing well.

In spite of the difficult home situation all the children seem to have been able to adjust themselves to it except the boy just older than Henry. This boy, Robert, was in the juvenile court in 1920, when he was 15 years old, charged with cutting out lead pipe from two vacant buildings. He was ordered to make restitution of $40 but refused. A new petition was filed, and he was placed on probation. The next year he was charged with larceny and immoral conduct. In company with another boy he took two rings, valued at $15, and a pocketbook containing 3 cents. He was charged with immoral conduct with a 14-year-old boy. When placed in the detention home Robert was discovered to be suffering from gonorrhea and was sent to the county hospital. He ran away from there and was not found for six months. As he was by this time 17 years of age and therefore out of the jurisdiction of the juvenile

court, he was released from probation and the case was closed. At this time the Institute for Juvenile Research examined Robert and reported that his delinquencies dated from the death of his mother and seemed to be caused by inability to adjust himself to the control of his brothers and sisters. Apparently living in the home of older people (the Millers) supplied a missing element in Robert's environment as there is no indication of further difficulty. Henry apparently was able to adjust himself both to the supervision of his older brothers and sisters and to his cousins with less difficulty than his brother.

Henry finished the eighth grade when he was 16, and as he said he had never repeated or skipped a grade, he must have started to school when 7 or 8. He wanted to stop school and go to work. He went to continuation school for a time but stopped, he said, because he got no good out of it. "I guess if I had had enough patience I could have gone through high school and maybe I'd be further along in a few years but I don't know. I may do just as well as it is. I like my work and I am going to keep at it. I am not going to school any more."

The boy started to work as a messenger at $10 a week and has had only two positions, the second as office boy. At the time of his court experience he was earning $15 a week, and at the present time he earns $18 a week. He has had this job for two years and said he left his first job "to get in a place where there is a chance to go up." He was optimistic about his present work. "For a boy like me, without more education than I have got, I have a job that I will make something out of some day. I get on fine with my boss and all the folks I work with. My boss says he has a real job for me when I get older." At the time of his court experience he was paying $7.50 for his room and board, and at the present time he pays $9 a week. He owes $70 to his brother for the lawyer he had in court.

Henry does not seem to care for many associates. He said: "I don't run with a big crowd like some folks. I go by myself lots of times. I don't go with girls much. They call me timid. Maybe I am, but I don't care."

In spite of the disadvantages arising from a home broken by the death of the parents Henry seems to have come through without difficulty. While his vocational interest does not seem to be specialized it may be that it will work out satisfactorily for him. He has no apparent problems. His one court experience, the result of identification which was probably mistaken, might have turned out badly. His cousin says they were all very much frightened when the restaurant owner identified Henry from among 25 boys in the station. Fortunately for Henry, this is one of the few cases in which an investigation was asked and an adequate report received before the case was disposed of. Because of the good reputation of all the family (probably not solely because of the lawyer, as Henry thought), Henry was given the benefit of the doubt. The procedure of the court in this case sets an example to be followed.

3. DANIEL M'CUNE

Interview January 28, 1927.
Native white, parents born in Ireland. Both in the United States 25 years.
Present age, 22; age at time of offense, 19.
Boys' court hearing, May 1, 1924. Robbery. Discharged May 16, 1924.
Lives at home.
Family: Father 65. Mother in hospital for the insane. Sisters 16 and 13, in institution for dependents.

Daniel is a fairly tall, well-built, handsome boy. He dresses well and seems fairly intelligent and frank but is not very talkative.

Daniel does not know how many times he has been arrested but thinks probably a dozen, and, except for the one robbery charge, he says that they were all for fighting. On the occasion of some of them he had been drinking. Beyond that there is nothing to distinguish one from the other. Of the robbery charge he said: "That was a lie. A cop who I handed a black eye in a scrap just tried to put me away. I don't know nothing about the whole affair except that the cops never did have no reason for claiming I robbed." He feels that these court experiences had no effect upon his conduct, that he still fights but does nothing bad. "If a man is respected he has got to fight in this neighborhood," he said.

When 12 years of age Daniel was declared a truant and sent to the Chicago Parental School. Again two years later he was sent to the same school. He was released from parole "with improvement" in 1919. Each time he was

in the school for about a month. He said: "The teachers there were not bad; that was the best schooling I ever got. All that I hated was being cooped up."

During 1921 and 1922 Daniel was before the courts on three disorderly-conduct charges and one burglary charge. On the first disorderly-conduct charge he was fined $100 and costs. In each of the other cases he was discharged. After the offense studied two disorderly-conduct charges are recorded. For the first he was fined $100 and costs and for the second $2 with $3 costs. The charge studied in May, 1924, was for robbery, but the complaining witness said Daniel was not the boy who held him up and he was discharged.

In 1918 Daniel's mother was committed to the State hospital for the insane. She was mildly depressed with delusional auditory hallucinations and had evidently been abnormal for at least three years before her commitment. The father had been drinking for years, and the home was in a frightful condition. The two girls were sent to a home for dependent girls, but the father wished to keep the boy and they have lived together since that time. The father paid $10 a month for the care of each of the girls regularly until 1921, but since then has seldom paid. He has never visited the girls. A maternal aunt visits them occasionally. In 1925 the father was sentenced to 30 days in the county jail for not contributing toward the support of his children but did not serve the sentence.

Daniel's father has given him practically no supervision. The juvenile court reported that he was on the street all day and went with a tough gang. At that time the man and boy lived in two furnished rear rooms, for which they paid $18 a month. They now live in a fairly good working-class neighborhood, but their rooms are dark and dismal and the furniture is scant and inadequate. The apartment is in disorder and none too clean. Daniel says that he and his father do not get along together particularly well. They get into arguments, usually over how much money he is to be allowed to keep. His father complains that Dan has always been a hard boy to control and that his mother had difficulty with him before she left home. Daniel says that his father spends all his money for booze, has sold booze at times, and "hangs out with bad women in the neighborhood, some of whom are married and who can control him."

Daniel has belonged to a gang for a number of years and still spends most of his time with a gang playing pool, driving, or going to dances or shows. He admits that he frequents disorderly houses but considers himself better than his father. He says that at one time he wanted to be a policeman, but he has given up the idea now because he has become "disgusted with the kind of work that a policeman has to do, peeping around in everybody's business."

Daniel entered school at 7 and completed seven grades, leaving when he was 15. He says that he did not like school, and the juvenile-court record shows that he did not attend regularly. His attendance was reported as very poor, his scholarship as good, and his conduct as excellent. He said that he got little out of school and doesn't see "where he could get anything more. School is all right if you have the money to dress up and fly high and do nothing else, but for a poor boy he had better be home or at work."

Daniel worked a few days in the summer of the year before he left school. After leaving school he started to work as a messenger, earning $10 a week. At the time of the offense studied he was not working, but at the present time he is a laborer and earns $25 a week. He had had this position about three months. Daniel says that he has worked regularly; his father says "he has been no good for work," and during the time the juvenile court knew him, it was said that he never worked. He has no idea how many jobs he has had since he began to work but says that he has had six within the past year. He has changed "just to be changing sometimes and sometimes to get more money. I got canned a time or two for fighting." At the time of his offense he paid about $10 a week for his room and board, and at the present time he pays about $12.

As to his own conduct, Daniel says: "My mother couldn't look after me when I was little, so I was just, what you might say, throwed out on the streets, and I had to take care of myself and soon got to be a regular scrapper, and that was the most trouble I have ever had."

This boy, having been allowed to stay in a home where he had no supervision after the home was broken by his mother's insanity, easily fell in with the tough elements in the neighborhood. The very short periods during which he stayed in an institution were far from sufficient to teach him regular habits of living and the self-control that he needed. The only outcome of the many charges against him in the boys' court has been discharges and fines, and he insists that he has never paid any fines. At any rate discharges and fines do not

constitute treatment that would give such a boy a respect for the law or would show him any better way to behave.

4. JOHN VITKERS

Interview September 18, 1926.
Native white, parents born in Lithuania. Both in United States 25 years.
Present age, 23; age at time of offense, 20.
Boys' court hearing, January 17, 1924. Robbery. Discharged January 19, 1924.
Lives at home.
Family: Father 51, mother 47; brothers 20, 15, 10; sisters 18, 13.

John is a strongly built boy of medium height who dresses carelessly but is thoroughly clean. He is open and frank in his conversation and rather talkative, although he appears rather dull and slow in his thinking. He seems fearless and is not suspicious of strangers.

The accusation made against John was that he had held up a man on the street with a gun and had taken money and jewelry. John's story is: "I was in a restaurant when the cops came in with a drunk. He pointed me out as the man who had robbed him the night before. They took me to the station and kept me for four days without booking me. During that time they kicked the stuffing out of me and tormented me all the time trying to get a confession from me. Then they booked me for robbery, and my folks bailed me out and I went to the court. The judge said there was no reason for holding me and sent me home." John said that several robberies had occurred in his community, and the policemen felt that it was up to them to get some one, and he was the first man they found. He feels that his detention in the station was an "outrage and shameful," and he plans to get revenge on the policemen sooner or later. He says that he got fair treatment when he got to the court, and he thinks highly of the boys' court and of the judge then on the bench. He does not know how much his bail was, as some of his father's friends got it fixed for him.

John's home is a pleasant contrast to the neighborhood, which is near one of the poorest slum sections of Chicago, crowded with factories and shanties with basement apartments. The alleys are filthy. The 6-room house is furnished modestly but sufficiently, and it is clean and orderly. The rent is $25 a month. The family has always been self-supporting, and now, with more children working, its economic condition is considerably improved. The father is a boss in a factory, earning $40 a week. The brother younger than John is a laborer earning $25 a week, and the oldest girl earns $18 a week. The three younger children are in the eighth, sixth, and third grades, respectively. Although the home seems in many respects a good one for this community, it is not an attractive place, and practically no recreation is available for the children. The family seem to get on quite well together, although the mother, who does not speak English, does not seem adjusted to modern American ideas and seems somewhat inclined to scold the other members of the family. The children do not seem to be antagonized by this. None of them belongs to any clubs or organizations of the neighborhood, nor do they go to church regularly.

John started to school when 5, repeated one grade, and left when he had completed the sixth at 14 or 15 years of age. He said that he was too big to stay in school, and he could get good wages outside. He never liked school, and it was hard for him. He thinks that school is of no use to a working boy, and he has never attended continuation or night school. His first job, in 1918, was as a factory hand at $25 a week, and as there was much overtime work, he sometimes made one and one-half times to twice his regular wages. Although he has had four jobs he says he has never been fired. He left each job because he found one with a better future. At the time of his court appearance he was making $25 a week as a laborer for an electrical company. He is now making $35 a week at the same job, which he has held for four years.

John says that he has had no difficulty other than his one court experience except a few school fights. He recalls with some pleasure that his only "argument" since his court appearance was with a policeman who tried to tell him what to do when he was working for his company on the city streets. His boss came along and made the policeman stop interfering. John belongs to a local gang. "We are not secretly organized, and we only hang together to protect ourselves. We are not bound by oaths, like some gangs." He goes to baseball and football games. He says that his work and his home affairs

do not permit him to associate much with the members of his gang. At present he seems to be taking the lead in all family affairs.

A discharge in this case of mistaken identity was the only procedure for the court to take, and in the three years since that time John has demonstrated that he is able to take care of himself, to take responsibility, and to be a respectable member of society. He is evidently a worthy member of his family, which has been able to maintain a self-supporting and good home in the midst of poor surroundings. It is probable that the children will be able to move the family into a better neighborhood. The spirit of revenge evoked by the alleged brutal treatment of the police in trying to obtain a confession is an unfortunate result of John's experience.

5. JOHN ZUBAWEZAS

Interview February 5, 1927.
Native white, parents born in Lithuania. Father in United States 35 years, mother 23 years.
Present age, 21; age at time of offense, 20.
Boys' court hearing November 17, 1925. Robbery. Held for grand jury. Bail $10,000. Committed to county jail. Charge stricken out with leave to reinstate in criminal court January 7, 1926.
Lives at home.
Family: Father 56, mother 40, sisters 20, 18, 13, brother 16. Sister died in 1918 when 4 years old. Mother works away from home.

John is a tall, well-built boy, careless in his dress. He talks little and gives the impression of being somewhat stubborn and not very bright. He has a definite grudge against society in general. He was sent by the boys' court to the psychopathic laboratory, where the examination showed him to have a mental age of 12⅝ and to be a low-grade sociopath plus dementia præcox katatonia +3.

John's court record began early. In May, 1916, when 9 years of age, he was in the juvenile court as a truant and was sent to the Chicago Parental School. In November of the next year he was accused of breaking into a freight car. After continuances this charge was dismissed, and on a truant petition he was committed again to the Chicago Parental School in December. In January, 1919, he was in the juvenile court for two burglaries and a robbery. This time he was sent to the St. Charles School for Boys. In May, 1921, after burglary of a garage, he was again sent to St. Charles. In May, 1924, he was released from juvenile jurisdiction "with improvement." He had already been in the boys' court before this release. In July, 1923, he was accused of two burglaries, in which he was said to have stolen shirts and gloves from a clothing store at night. The charges were changed to larceny, and he was sentenced to 60 days in the house of correction and given a $1 fine. In March, 1924, he was again accused of burglary and this time was held for the grand jury on a bond of $15,000. He was discharged. In December of that year he was accused of three holdups with a gun and also of larceny. He was held for the grand jury on bonds of $20,000 and was sentenced to six months in the house of correction. The offense included in this study is the next and the last offense recorded against him. In December, 1925, he was accused of holding up a restaurant and on this robbery charge was held for the grand jury on bail of $10,000. He stayed in the county jail for two months, until the charge against him was stricken out with leave to reinstate.

John told of all the offenses with which he had been charged. In most of these he claims to have had no share. As to the first he said: "They accused me of stealing shirts, but I bought the shirts at a bargain sale. I was innocent but got 60 days in the Bridewell." As to the second: "They charged me with breaking into a store, but they didn't have no proof so I got off." As to the third: "They claimed I held up people, and folks said they identified me, but they lied. I got six months in the Bridewell." He then described a street fight after which he says he was arrested and discharged. This does not appear on the police record. In regard to the offense included in this study, he said: "I was charged with robbing a restaurant, and it was another guy. He got stuck six months in the Bridewell, and I got off." He says that he has been in trouble again since this offense and after the information had been obtained from the police records. "The last time was for stealing an automobile, but I didn't do it. I was knowing who did, and because I wouldn't squawk the judge soaked me 30 days in the Bridewell." He said that he has been in jail three times and that he has never had bail. "When I get in

trouble I just have to 'root hog or die,' as they say in the St. Charles School." When asked as to conditions in jail, he said: "The law means for the jail to be a bad place, and I guess the guards live up to the law in that way." He says that he has not changed his conduct at all since his appearances in court. "The court ain't got me scared one bit. I ain't got nothing against the judges, but I'll get square with the cops."

Almost everything known about John's home and life would have influenced him in the direction of an evil career. He lives in one of the worst neighborhoods in Chicago, where the tenement houses are crowded and run down, the streets are filthy, and there are many factories. At the time the family first became known to social agencies the mother was forced to ask for relief from a family-welfare agency because of the irregular employment of her husband. John, the oldest child, was at that time 6 years old. Mr. Zubawezas had not worked regularly for two years, and during all the time that this agency knew the family (about four years) he never worked regularly. Although she had four small children, the mother worked down town as a charwoman at night for $39 a month. The father stayed around the house, but did not take proper care of the children. All the members of the family suffered from undernourishment and periods of actual privation during these years. The father was not only shiftless but cruel and abusive. His treatment of his wife was especially brutal. The mother said that when the two youngest children were born he refused to allow her to have any help. At the birth of one of them he locked her in the house alone and for an hour after the baby's birth she had no one with her. Once when he was drunk he tried to attack his small daughter; the mother interfered and was unmercifully beaten herself. He was sent to the house of correction, but upon his return behaved no better and bragged that no one could make a good man of him The mother was afraid to leave the little girls with him. He used to eat all the food in the house and throw the dishes on the floor if there was no meat for supper. He also drank the milk which the Visiting Nurse Association left for the baby. He whipped all the children "just for fun" and whipped the baby when it was only 7 months old. The father even took all the bed clothing from the mother and children for himself. During this time the mother was described as a good housekeeper and a hard-working woman, as well as a good mother. The father, however, did not allow her to discipline John. He upheld John in any wrongdoing, and when his mother tried to get him to stay in at night, the father told him to stay out as late as he wanted to. He told John to pay no attention to anything his mother said and did not remonstrate when the boy threw things at his mother. The father also filled John's mind with foul language and vile suggestions. He used obscene language and performed obscene actions in his presence.

During these years the father was in the court of domestic relations and was sent to the Bridewell several times. In 1911 he served six months in the Bridewell for cruelty to the mother. In July, 1912, he was in prison for beating his wife. In December, 1912, he was in the court of domestic relations charged with abusive treatment of his wife, but she refused to testify against him, as she was afraid of being beaten again. The judge gave him another chance. In January, 1913, Mr. Zubawezas was placed on probation in the court of domestic relations to pay $10 a week to the mother. In June, 1915, Mrs. Zubawezas was taken very ill and was sent to the county hospital. The children were sent to a children's home to stay while the mother was in the hospital. During a 4-year period 16 different agencies were trying to help the family. At one time the home evidently became unbearable for Sophie, the oldest girl, for when she was 13 years old she ran away from home after stealing $50 worth of clothes from a store. She slept in hallways part of the 10 days that she was away.

At the present time, however, the mother and Sophie and the other girls have succeeded in making a much better home. The family have six rooms, of which four are sleeping rooms. They pay $20 a month rent. The apartment is on the first floor of a 2-story and basement house. The home is attractive, very neat and clean. There are starched white curtains, clean bedspreads, and shining glass in the china cabinet. The work of the house is divided and arranged systematically. The mother does the housework before she leaves in the morning. In the evening the younger boy and girl bring the coal in from the shed and start the fire, and Sophie comes home first and prepares supper. The mother and sisters get along well, but the mother scolds John and John seems to have no respect for her. John dislikes his sisters,

and his sisters disilke him. The father has been working steadily now for two years. Sophie says that he feels he is getting older, and as it is difficult for an older man to get work he sticks to his job. The children have planned that as soon as the two youngest (now 16 and 13 and in the eighth grade of school) get to work the mother will stop working. She is still scrubbing office floors four days a week and sometimes five, making $16 a week. The father makes $25 to $35 a week as a common laborer. Sophie, a pretty, attractively dressed girl, refined in manner, is a typist earning $15 a week. Florence, the next oldest girl, works in a factory and also earns $15 a week. John is the only one who is not employed. Sophie is quite sure that she does not want to marry until she is a good deal older, for she has the example of her mother before her, who married before she was 18 and has had to work all her life. She seems genuinely fond of her mother and her two sisters. She spoke sarcastically of her father. She says that Louis, the younger boy, is almost as snippy as John but that he has not yet gotten into any real trouble. Sophie and her sister Florence have the same friends, boys and girls, and have many good times together. Florence goes to business college at night. John goes with an entirely different group of people, and Sophie says that she does not know them at all. The mother gets little time for relaxation or society. The family go to church, and the younger children attend parochial school and belong to various church and school clubs.

Starting to school at 6 years of age, John was known as a truant in less than a year. He attended a parochial school and completed the seventh grade. He did not return to school after leaving St. Charles in 1919, as he said he got interested in other things and did not want to go back to regular school. His ideas of education he stated as follows: "Schooling is all right if you get the right kind. This stuff they teach you in most schools is no good at all. What a fellow needs in school is to learn a trade and not to waste time learning a lot of history and grammar." He has no desire to study any further. In 1917 the school reported to the juvenile court that his attendance was very poor and his conduct and scholarship fair. The principal of the St. Charles School reported that his school work was fairly good and that his deportment was excellent.

John first went to work in 1920 as a factory hand, earning $12 a week. At the time of the offense included in the study he had no work, and he had none at the time of this interview. He says he has had about 25 jobs. When asked why he left them he said: "How do I know? Sometimes the boss did not like me and fired me off the job; sometimes I just got sore on the job and quit." As to employers he said: "They are all alike. Some are bad and others worse. All they want is money, and they don't care what happens to you. They ain't humans any more. If they can take from everybody else like they do, I might as well take from some who has more than I've got." His sister said that after the offense studied and before he was sent the last time to the house of correction he worked for seven or eight months as a cook. Since he has come out of the house of correction he has not worked.

Of his various commitments to institutions, twice to the Chicago Parental School, twice to St. Charles, and three times to the house of correction, he said: "It won't do any good for me to tell you about those places. You will go up there, and they will cover things up and you will just figure I lied. If you want to try out some of them places just go get in Dutch with the cops, and then you won't need anybody to tell you."

John's sister says that he is seldom at home. He occasionally comes in for supper and sometimes appears for a little while in the evening. He is never at home on Saturday or Sunday. The mother and sisters have given up trying to keep him in the house. The former says that when he works he is all right but as soon as he gets out of work he goes with his gang and gets into trouble. As to his early difficulties John said: "I never got in no more trouble than other boys. I got in trouble with a cop, and ever since that they have been hounding me. They are to blame for most of my trouble. They started beating me when I was a kid of a boy."

John had always associated with a group of boys now known as the "——— street gang." Nine of these boys were recently convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to prison for terms of one year to life. John was not implicated in this robbery and murder, as he was in the police station at the time of the holdup. He spends his spare time now with the remaining members of the gang. He says that he likes dancing and the "movies" and drinks "moonshine" occasionally.

During the conversation John expressed various bits of his philosophy of life and of his reaction to life as he has seen it. He is very bitter and thinks nothing worth while. He feels that it is unfair that he was born without money while others have money and never have to work. He is against established authority and against society, as he knows it. He describes himself as a Bolshevik, indicating his general attitude of opposition rather than any definite social creed. As to his own behavior he said: "Well, what are you going to do in this community? There ain't no place to go, and you can't stay on the streets after dark but what some copper comes along and pipes up 'Whatcha doing there? Move on'." Again he said: "When you get out of your own neighborhood and see how lots of other folks live in this old world, how they have swell houses, cars, and everything, it makes you feel like things ain't right. I just feel like jumping in the river and stopping it all."

From his earliest childhood John has lived in a home where there was domestic discord, where his mother worked, and where his father was in every way a bad influence. Irregular earnings and unemployment of his father brought poverty and undernourishment to the children. The neighborhood in which he grew up offered little that was better than his home. It is scarcely surprising that John has grown up stubborn and antisocial. It is very much to the credit of his sisters that in the same home environment they have been able to grow up into fine young women. However, John was subjected to his father's evil influence even more than the other children, and his emotional constitution, according to the psychopathic laboratory, has always been defective. With this history the difficulties that a court—equipped as was the boys' court—had to overcome if John's viewpoint was to be changed were almost insurmountable. Nevertheless, the efforts that have been made would not have been likely to bring success in any case. Discharges of one kind or another and short sentences to the house of correction have been the only treatment given since he left the jurisdiction of the juvenile court.

6. WILLIAM FURST

Interview November 29, 1926.
Native white, parents born in Germany. Both in United States 22 years.
Present age, 18; age at time of offense, 17.
Boys' court hearing, August 10, 1925. Robbery. Case continued twice. Dismissed without prosecution, August 26, 1925. Charge of larceny was brought on the same date and boy was placed on probation for one year.
Interviewed in penitentiary. At time of offense lived at home.
Family: Father 42, mother 40, brothers 15, 9, sister 13; brother 21, married and living in his own home.

William is pale, tall, and slender. He looks intelligent and is modest and frank. His mother says that when 9 years of age he nearly died of diphtheria, and since then he has been extremely nervous and high strung.

William's court experience began in June, 1925, when he was riding a motor cycle and went on the wrong side of a street car, causing an automobile to be wrecked. He was charged with assault with a deadly weapon and fined $25 and costs, which his father paid. He says that another time he stole an automobile and was arrested but was discharged because of lack of evidence. This is not one of the four arraignments which appear on the police records. His next arrest was in connection with the court charge of robbery (two holdups) included in the study. He was caught with his brother. They had a "billy" and had obtained $21 and two watches. William says that on this occasion he was drunk. He made restitution and was placed on probation for a year. The next charge in the boys' court was that of stealing an automobile, brought in February, 1926. A representative of a church association was asked to supervise the boy during continuance of the case. While this case was pending he was arrested and charged with robbery and with breaking into a flat at night and taking a radio and watch. William's story of this charge is that he was accused of telling a holdup man about another fellow who flashed money. He thinks that if he had had a chance in the boys' court, he might have "got a break," but he was sent from a branch court direct to the criminal court and "there I got socked on the old charge, for you see I was still on probation." He does not know how much time he has put in in police stations. He says that the police have never beaten him much, although they have threatened to do so a number of times. The stations and the jail are not so bad as they could be, but "none of them are places you would pick out to spend a vacation in." On the occasion of his last court

charge he was in jail for five days, as his parents did not put up security for his $1,500 bail. As to the penitentiary where he has been since May 25, 1926, William said: "I had enough of this place when I first saw it, and it just gets worse and worse. The guards are not so bad; they just bluff a lot, and they don't bother you if you get on with them. Of course sometimes a man gets a hard break when a crowd is doing something and he doesn't squeal when the officers try to find out who was making the trouble." William was sentenced for an indeterminate term of 1 to 20 years. He would be eligible for parole in April, 1927, if he earned all the good time possible. At the time of the interview, however, he had already had one punishment.

William thinks of probation as a form of punishment: "Probation was too light for me. I ought to have had a short sentence in the Bridewell and then probation. My probation officer was a good man and would have done me lots of good if I had listened to him, but I thought the judges would keep on being easy with me and I got fooled." He thinks that his boys' court experience did him harm, in that "it left me thinking that I could do anything before I was 21 and not get a bad punishment for it. A boy needs a short sentence to begin with to give him a good scare, and then he will stop." During his probation, according to the department records, he reported every month until he was arrested for his later delinquency. He made six reports in all and paid the costs. Four visits were made to the home by the probation officer.

The Furst family have lived for 17 years in a 5-room house which is well built and well kept up. The neighborhood is not thickly settled, but it is an old community, chiefly occupied by Germans and Scandinavians who have lived there for 15 to 25 years. The people in the neighborhood are united by social and church ties and know one another's affairs intimately. Three of the rooms in the house are used as sleeping rooms. One of these is the attic where the boys sleep. The house is scrubbed until it is spotless, and is furnished comfortably. The family has a piano and phonograph and conveniences for housekeeping, such as a washing machine and a vacuum cleaner. They are comfortably off, owning the home and an automobile and having some savings. They spent $500 for a lawyer the last time William was arrested and almost as much each of the other times. The mother says that her husband's success has made her very proud of him but that now since William has disgraced them, she does not dare to go outside and face her neighbors. The father has worked for one building firm for 17 years. He is in charge of several jobs and earns between $65 and $80 a week. He leaves most of the disciplining of the children to the mother.

The three older boys go to church regularly and belong to church clubs. The 13-year-old girl and the 15-year-old boy are in the eighth grade, and the 9-year-old boy is in the third grade. The mother feels very responsible for her children and visits the school often. The 9-year-old boy said that his mother should not come to school so often "because she talks English like a Polack." The children are also dissatisfied with the home and think the family should move to a better one. Both the father and mother have attended public night school to learn English, the father when he was much younger and the mother last winter. Mrs. Furst says that all the children seem to have an idea that they know more than their parents. None of the others, however, has been in trouble except the 21-year-old boy, who was caught with William in one escapade. He has been married since and does not live with his parents.

William started to school at the age of 6 and left at 14 to go to work, having completed the eighth grade. "When I graduated from grammar school I thought I would never do any more going to school. Now I would like going some more. I liked school all right, but it didn't look like it would ever be worth enough to me. Now I see where I made a mistake. My father and mother wanted me to go on to school. I think I will yet as soon as I get out of here."

William's first work was as a building laborer helping his father. He earned $25 to $30 a week. At the time of the offense included in the study he was not working. He has had about six jobs altogether. He said: "Contractors do not keep men long. When I lost one job I always got another soon. I never did get fired. When I lost a job it was because there was no work for me with the boss. I quit sometimes to get more pay somewhere else." He intends to continue in the building trades. His mother

says that he is handy and bright and can do anything he wants to. She says that the trouble with his occupation is that the work is not regular and when not employed William got into mischief. His father will not take him back to work with him since his court experience, as he values his own job too highly.

Mrs. Furst says that William is nervous and fidgety most of the time and craves entertainment. He does not care for girls and always thought his older brother was having a dull time taking out one girl steadily. When he is living at home he bowls and plays pool and hangs around a bowling alley. He would be sitting at home quietly when his friends would drive along in one of their cars (which might be stolen), and would call him, and he would run out and join them. Mrs. Furst says that the owner of the bowling alley persuades boys to steal and buys the stolen property from them. William and his friends have disposed of stolen goods at this alley many times. The lawyer and William's father were unwilling to try to stop this practice, although the mother urged them to. During William's probation Mrs. Furst thought that he was much improved and that probation was having a good effect upon him. Then came this robbery. The family did not put up bail in this case because the lawyer advised them to leave the boy in jail as he had had it easy too many times. William writes home that he is ashamed of what he has done and that he has learned his lesson. When his family visits him he cries and tells them how sorry he is. His mother feels that possibly he was let off too easily on the other occasions and that he may learn his lesson from this punishment.

William does not blame his parents nor his associates for his trouble. He intimates that the reason he has got into so much trouble is because he has more courage than other people, who do not dare to do what they want to do He thinks that it would have been easier for him if he too had been born a coward. He thinks, however, that this experience will make a coward out of him and that he will not be in so much trouble hereafter. He says it would fill a book if he could think of all the mischief he has been in; he got started into mischief soon after he started to school and kept getting into worse trouble until he landed in the penitentiary. His mother said that he had been in several more robberies than he had been caught in. He always told his brother Clarence everything that he did until they were both on probation. At this time Clarence remonstrated with William, and William ceased to confide in his brother. William denied that he belonged to a gang: "I always had a few good friends and that was all. I never went around much by myself. Sometimes I went with my brother. I never did go around with girls in my life. I do not care for dances; give me a good ball game or a good picture show."

William's vocation is well taken care of, provided he is not discriminated against because of his prison record. His family and his home are also satisfactory. It is evident, however, that the children feel that their parents are somewhat "foreign" and not up to date. This feeling of superiority to their foreign-born parents may have brought about an unconscious but undesirable conflict. Removal to a more desirable neighborhood, away from the bowling alley and the "hangout" of the boys William knows, would be a wise step for the family. The kind of probation provided by the Chicago courts, which consisted, according to the boy and his mother, principally of talks from the officer, was successful with one brother and unsuccessful with the other. Possibly William's desire to demonstrate his courage is an effort to compensate for an inferior physique; other ways of showing courage might have been pointed out to him. Only future developments can show whether the penitentiary sentence has given the boy the jolt which he thinks he needed.

7. EMMET M'RAE

Interview December 7, 1926.
Native white, parents native white.
Present age, 20; age at time of offense, 19.
Boys' court hearing, October 20, 1925. Bail $10,000. Robbery (with unloaded gun). Held for grand jury until November 10, 1925. Committed to county jail by criminal court. Sentenced to one year in the reformatory, May 3, 1926. Mittimus stayed, May 4, 1926. Motion to vacate. Charge reduced to petty larceny. Sentenced to house of correction for one year, $1 fine and no costs, on same date.
Interview at house of correction. At time of offense lived at home.
Family: Father 62, mother 49, brother 25, sisters 23, 20, 14. Husband and child of 20-year-old sister live with family. One sister dead.

Emmet is a pleasant, clean-cut young man who talks little but is frank and intelligent in appearance and conversation. He has apparently sought thrills

but when interviewed in the house of correction showed an attitude different from that of the other boys seen in institutions; he seems convinced that thrill seeking is not worth the danger involved.

Concerning the offense included in the study Emmet said: "Just a bunch of us got in a taxicab to go for a drive. We were all drinking. One of the boys had a gun. Another said he bet the cabman had money. I said, 'Let's get it.' They took me at my word, and we were all looking to do some dare-devil stunt that we would not have thought of if we had been sober. When we got in a dark place we stopped him and took his money and sent him on. In just a few minutes we saw two policemen coming, and we started to run. They took us down to the detective bureau, and one of the boys got put through such a test that he confessed. I stayed in the police station one night. When I came to my senses I saw what a mess I had got into, and I did not try to put it off on the police. Of course the station was no palace, but it wasn't built for royalty but for bums and fools like I was. We went to the boys' court and were sent to the criminal court. I got out a month later on a bond that my father and brothers got through my lawyer and a professional bondsman. Jail was not so bad as the station, but it was worse than out here in Bridewell. The other boys stayed in jail for seven months. * * * I got a good break from the court when my sentence was changed from Pontiac to the Bridewell. I had a good lawyer, and the judge was more than fair with me. As I was sent here for robbery with a gun I got away light; I deserve more than I got. Conditions in here are terrible; so are the fools who are in here, but nobody who deserves to be put here gets more than he deserves. We all get enough to eat, though we do get hungry. Everybody holds his own in weight. * * * The experience has opened my eyes, and I won't be in any more trouble. I didn't listen to my father and mother, for they couldn't scare me, but the court has the power and has got me completely bluffed."

On the social-service record at the boys' court it appears that Emmet held up a taxicab driver with an unloaded gun and obtained $11. The criminal-court record shows that the criminal-court bond was set at $3,000 after he had been held over by the boys' court on $10,000 bond. For this the family put up $500 cash. They had to borrow the money from friends and a professional bondsman as their property was not clear and could not be used as security. Including the lawyer's fee the case cost them $1,000. Emmet was first committed to the reformatory for one year, but the next day the motion to vacate sentence was sustained and he was sentenced to the house of correction for the same length of time on a charge of petty larceny. Emmet's mother says that the criminal-court judge promised her that Emmet would be released before Christmas, when he would have served a little more than six months.

No other arrest appears against Emmet. In May, 1919, however, when he was 13 years old, he was charged in the juvenile court with the burglary of a private residence. He was put under supervision until damages should have been paid. He paid $21.50, and his case was continued generally in December, 1919. When asked about this difficulty Emmett said, "That was no trouble of mine. That was a frame-up or something. I never did any of that, but I did help hold up the taxi driver when they sent me here."

The McRaes live in a 3-story, 10-room, gray-stone house, in a very desirable residential district of the city. They bought the house five years ago and put into it all their savings, but it is still heavily mortgaged. The house is comfortably furnished, having all the usual equipment for recreation—radio, piano, phonograph, books, and magazines. It has been redecorated recently by Emmet himself, who did practically all the work. He put in new plumbing, fixed the roof, and painted the bedrooms. It took him about a year.

Emmet said that his father and mother do not get on particularly well. He thinks that his father's stern discipline is the cause of the difficulty. Mrs. McRae says that her husband's atttiude toward Emmet has been selfish and stern. The father is very nervous. He has not mentioned Emmet since he was arrested. He did not go to the court and never asks about him. Mrs. McRae does not know whether his father knows where Emmet has been sent. The mother and all the children are devoted to Emmet; the older sister has become depressed since his trouble.

According to the mother's statement, Mr. McRae has worked for the same company for 50 years. He was poorly paid for a long time, but his wages are much better since the trade has been unionized. The exact amount of his

earnings was not learned, but it was probably between $40 and $45 a week. The oldest brother is a partner in a small store and apparently doing very well. The oldest sister is a clerk and earns $25 a week. Mrs. McRae has a brother-in-law, a consulting engineer in Cleveland, who is extremely devoted to Emmet. She plans to have Emmet go east with him as soon as he is released. It was on the advice of this uncle, who was in Chicago on a visit, that Emmet returned from Cleveland, where he was well situated, to Chicago, because his family missed him.

The only delinquency reported for any other member of the family concerns the older brother who was once fined $10 and once put on probation for six months, after being charged with disorderly conduct, his explanation being that he was loitering around a restaurant at 1.30 in the morning. In 1913 the family had been in serious financial straits. At this time the record of the family-welfare society that gave temporary aid states that the father was a drunkard and a chronic deserter and out of work. The improvement in the family's financial condition indicates that the father has been steadily at work for a number of years.

Emmet entered public school at 6 and left after completing the seventh grade, when he was 13 years old. At the time he went to work the family needed his earnings, and Mrs. McRae says that she lied about his age, stating that he was born in 1904. Emmet said: "I knew when I quit school that it would be better if I kept on, but I could not study for bothering about our debts. I felt like a parasite, going to school and my father in such hard luck. Besides, I couldn't have enough to make me able to spend money like others who were in my school. I just got desperate and quit. My father and mother thought I ought to go to work. Schooling would do me good, and if I were through here (the Bridewell) and had a chance, I would do it yet. When I get out and get my debt to the family paid, I will try night school of some kind. I don't know what to take up though; I don't know anything but clerical work, and that don't pay much."

Emmet started to work as a delivery boy at $6 a week. He says that he has had about five different jobs. "The main reason I changed jobs was I was always looking for something better. I had a good clerical job once, but it was just temporary. I would like to get on there again. I went to Cleveland once and made some good money there. I never got canned from a job." His attitude toward employment is good. He says that he has learned by experience and observation that one must "get in some special line and stay with it and learn it better than anything else." He would like to get into some work having a future, and he would welcome vocational advice.

Emmet's mother said that for three or four years Emmet worked in Cleveland driving a truck for a factory, earning $30 a week at the end of his time there. While he was there he lived in the home of a boy he had met in Chicago. He was on a baseball team and was saving to buy an automobile. When he was persuaded to go back to Chicago he had several jobs offered him here. His family also had promised to send him to a mechanics' school but refused to do so. Instead his father insisted that he stay at home and decorate the house, as he had learned how by helping his friends in Cleveland. Emmet did this, although it took him nearly a year to do the work. He was discontented with the work and morning after morning would say that he was going out to look for a job or that he was going back to Cleveland, but his father insisted that he finish it. Although Emmet chafed under his father's rule he was always respectful to him. The mother says now that she sees that they should have hired someone else to do the decorating and let Emmet have a regular job.

Emmet's mother says that he was a mischievous boy but never bad, and that he was always popular with everyone he met, being very friendly, frank, and likeable. At home he is full of fun and teases his mother, who enjoys it. She thinks that he met new acquaintances with whom he committed the robbery. She feels, however, that she has failed with him or he would not have committed such a deed. When he was in the court he went up and shook hands with the two policemen who arrested him and said they were nice chaps and that he knew it was their job to arrest him. He is very friendly with everyone at the house of correction; says that he did wrong and deserves a punishment and holds no grudge.

Aside from an undercurrent of difficulty between the parents all Emmet's home conditions are favorable. He is apparently able to earn good wages and keep employed, but he has no trade. He is a type of boy who would benefit by

definite training. His misbehavior in the past seems to have been committed in search for excitement, and it is probable that after this experience, if he is given wise supervision at home or with his uncle and a change from his former undesirable acquaintances, his conduct will not be a problem.

8. GALE BROWN

Interview October 22, 1926.
Native white, parents native white.
Present age, 21; age at time of offense, 20.
Boys' court hearing, September 30, 1925. Robbery. Case continued four times. Nolprossed, November 9, 1925. On same date charge of larceny made. Sentenced to reformatory for one year and fined $1.
Interviewed at reformatory. At time of offense lived at home.
Family: Mother 44, sister 19, at home. Parents divorced, father in own home.

Gale is a tall, well-built young man, neat and refined in appearance with dark, piercing, intelligent eyes. He is well informed about the topics of the day and on general and cultural subjects.

Gale was examined at the psychopathic laboratory. He was diagnosed as a high-grade moron plus dementia præcox katatonia, with a mental age of 11⅔. At the reformatory he was rated 138 by the Army Alpha test and was considered superior in intelligence.

Gale has been in court twice. The first time he was sent from a branch court directly to the criminal court on four charges of robbery. Three of the charges were stricken out with leave to reinstate. On the fourth charge he was sentenced to Pontiac reformatory for 1 to 10 years. He entered Pontiac on June 2, 1924, and was released on parole August 29, 1925. A month later he appeared in the boys' court on a charge of robbery, having used a toy gun. He received a sentence of 1 year under plea of guilty to petty larceny on November 9. This sentence expired October 12, 1926. He is now held as a parole violator for his former offense for which he must serve the maximum term.

In regard to these offenses Gale said: The first time I needed money and was out of a job and decided to try robbery. It took lots of nerve to try it. I would never be able to steal from anyone I know, but only from persons I chance to meet on the street. After one try I found that the surprise scares people so badly that all I had to do was to take the cash. The one thing I was worried about was running into some reckless man who would try my bluff and I could never have used my gun. I got picked up on the second night out." In regard to the second Gale said: "I got paroled, and I was supposed to have a job waiting for me but I didn't have it. I went to live with my mother, and she didn't let me have all the money I needed so I decided to take another chance since I had already got the brand of a criminal. It wouldn't make people shun me any worse. It was then that I found how easy it is to catch a holdup man, no matter how smart he may be."

The first time he was arrested Gale was in the police station only one night. On the second occasion he was in the county jail for nearly two months. The judge refused him bail because he had broken his parole and had many holdups on his record. Gale says that jail is just what the people in it make it. His mother spoke of the interest which the teacher in the jail school took in him and of his ability in art and the pictures which he painted while in jail. Gale feels that association with the other inmates in the reformatory may be injurious, and for that reason he spends most of his spare time in studying and tries to avoid "low-brow circles and vulgarity." He is taking a correspondence course in mechanics for which his sister is paying.

When released from Pontiac on August 29 after serving his first sentence Gale was paroled to the head of an agency that deals with released prisoners. This man signed as his sponsor. When released he expected that a job would be waiting for him, but there was none. The record of this society shows merely that on September 9 the boy was promised a job and that on September 26 he was arrested in connection with four robberies. After that the case was dropped. Gale says he saw little of this sponsor and did not know that any other officer was responsible for him until he was arrested and a man he had never seen told him that he was his parole officer. Apparently this was the extent of Gale's contact with the persons responsible for him during his parole.

The bail required at the time of Gale's first offense was $35,000. At the time of his second court appearance he was in the police station three weeks and in the detective bureau two or three nights. He told his mother the bureau was so crowded that the boys had to stand up all night.

In regard to the whole experience Gale said: "The court has had no effect upon me. It never got me into my trouble, and I am not looking for it to get me out. The court is a trap for the rats of society, and I turned out to be a rat; got to stealing bait off the trigger and was caught. I only wish it had got me sooner before I got in such bad trouble, then maybe I would have been put under a good probation officer and would never have been sent to Pontiac. In my opinion all kids who get into trouble ought to be punished outside of places like this if there is any chance, for once they come in here with all these bad eggs, if the boy wasn't tough before, he soon gets that way. Don't understand me as saying the officers and guards don't treat you all right around here. They treat boys all right who show them they are going to act civilized. All the trouble I have had with them has nearly always been because of the fact that I was trying to put something over. I have put plenty over, too, but I haven't made much by it."

On the first occasion that Gale was in court the judge of the criminal court was considered extremely stern by the mother. She found the judge in the boys' court, on the other hand, very kind and helpful. He investigated the family conditions, and the mother thought that he sentenced the boy to only one year because he found she needed her son's help.

Gale's parents have never been happy together. They were married 27 years ago when Mrs. Brown was very young. She had graduated from high school and from a conservatory of music. Soon after her marriage her husband started going out with other women. She says that he has continued this up to the present, that he dresses well, drives two cars, and takes out a great many women. Her husband was always very jealous of her, she said, and had no faith in anyone or in anything. He did not believe that his mother, his wife, or his daughter could be trusted.

Three of their five children died. Five years ago Mr. Brown deserted, and Mrs. Brown secured a divorce with $20 a week alimony. She had to hire a lawyer to force him to make his payments and had little left after the lawyer was paid. After Gale's first sentence to the reformatory she was very ill. She did not have the strength to fight for her alimony and agreed to a settlement of $500. At court the father's property could not be located. Later it was found that he had sold his two cars just before the trial and successfully hidden his property. For many years he has been head of a department in a large corporation and has always earned a high salary. According to Mrs. Brown he recently asked her to remarry him, saying that he missed his home and her cooking, but she refused. During the year since the court settlement Mrs. Brown has done day work or anything she could find. During three or four months of last summer she had charge of the salad counter at a drug-store cafeteria until she collapsed and the doctor forbade her working again. Both the father and mother go to the reformatory to visit Gale, though Mrs. Brown has not been able to go often during his present sentence because she could not afford to.

Mrs. Brown used the amount of the alimony settlement to set up housekeeping in a fine apartment when her son was released from the reformatory, but having so small an income she could not keep this up and left after living there six months, owing three months' rent. She and her daughter have lived since in a 5-room apartment, in a desirable residential neighborhood, for which they pay $40 a month. There is only one stove to heat the whole apartment, and the family furnish the coal. The apartment is furnished simply but in good taste. There is a phonograph in the living room. The 19-year-old daughter works as a bookkeeper and earns $18 a week. She obtained this position when she graduated from high school more than a year ago. The mother has very little to live on. The father told representatives of the court that his wife was irrational and had frequently turned Gale out of her home. Neither Gale nor anyone else has said anything to substantiate this.

Neighbors and former landladies, even the one to whom the mother owed three months' rent, who happened to be seen during attempts to interview the family at various addresses, gave good reports of Mrs. Brown. She is nervous but bright and likable. In their present home the family have few social connections. They visit the mother's relatives and a few friends in the suburb in which they formerly lived.

Gale says that he has always lived in high-class neighborhoods, that his mother has sufficient income to keep her and the son and daughter going, and that his father makes far more than he needs for actual living expenses. When-

ever he has been at home there has been every form of recreation, such as cars, radio, phonograph, piano, and books.

Mrs. Brown says that she has always taught her children to respect their father. The daughter, however, is very much disgusted with him. The mother thinks that Gale also realizes how hard the father has made things for her and how much she has done for her son. The children when young were always afraid of their father, who had never wanted children. Gale, when a little boy, used to hide when his father came into the room. All the family, except the father, have always gone to church, but the father scoffed at Gale for going to church. Gale during the interview told the agent he does not go to church any more. He showed a great deal of feeling for his father and said he wished that he had seen more of him. The mother dotes on Gale in a rather extravagant fashion and has probably spoiled him.

Gale entered kindergarten when he was 5 and the first grade at 6. He left school when he was 16, having been in high school a year and a half. A report from the school shows that he did not earn any high-school credits, although his mother said that he had attended school regularly and had finished a full year at the high school. In regard to his education Gale said: "I am taking mechanical work by correspondence and, when I get out, I am planning to enter some college." He feels that his parents are in good circumstances and that he has only to wish it to have life turn out pleasantly for him.

Gale has had about 12 positions, usually changing because he was looking for a job with more money. Evidence as to his first work varies, but he was not employed when he committed the last robberies. His mother says that he stopped school because he wanted to work with machines and that he begged his father to get him a job with his firm, but the father wanted him to try something else and Gale got a job making radios. She says he has never found quite the work that he likes, but two positions will be open to him when he comes out of the reformatory, one of these being a job that is exactly what he wants. In conversation Gale gives the impression of having a very good attitude toward work and toward his employers, which is not borne out by the reports of employers. One firm reported that he had worked for them for more than two months and that his services were not satisfactory. His father's firm, for which he worked five and one-half months, stated that he was a capable worker but was irresponsible, often failing to report for work; this failure was sometimes due to intoxication, and he had been dismissed from their employ. Another organization for which the boy worked as a clerk reported that he had resigned from their employ of his own accord. Gale says that when he is through with his sentence he is going to follow his father's line.

Gale's mother feels that his unlawful attempts to get money were caused by his association with a wealthy and possibly fast crowd of boys and girls, who spent money freely. Although Gale drove one of the family cars he had less money to spend than the rest of the group. He was devoted to one girl who expected to have a great deal of money spent on her. He finally stole in order to provide her with entertainment and presents. Upon his return from Pontiac, Gale again paid attention to this girl and again needed money to spend on her. Since then she has married. Mrs. Brown says that while Gale was going with his fast friends he drank some. The boy told the interviewer that he did not drink, but he admitted that he had stolen at other times than those which are recorded.

Mrs. Brown feels that part of Gale's trouble comes from his extreme generosity. She is proud of the fact that when he was small he would give any of his possessions away to his poorer friends and that when he had 10 or 15 cents he would treat the neighborhood and take nothing for himself. She says that his father would beat him unmercifully for this sort of thing.

Gale gives a much better impression to anyone who meets him face to face than is borne out by his actions. He is very likable. The discord between his parents, the indulgent affection of his mother, and the severity of his father all doubtless had an adverse effect upon him. If he had had the right sort of probation officer who could have supplemented the nervous and doting affection of his mother with the interest of an older man and have given him the close companionship and supervision which his father had denied him, he might have learned from his experience to keep out of further trouble. Even after he had served a term in the reformatory an adequate system of parole might have saved him further misdeeds, if it had meant really close contact with a fine type of man. The shortcomings of the present system of parole when

sponsors are more or less irresponsible and parole officers rarely see their charges is demonstrated in Gale's case.

9. CARLO BIANCO

Interview January 27, 1927.
Native white, parents born in Italy. Father died in 1911. Mother in United States 34 years, stepfather 37 years.
Present age, 22; age at time of offense, 19.
Boys' court hearing, August 15, 1924. Robbery. Held for grand jury on August 16, 1924. $1,000 bond. Committed to jail. Charge reduced to petty larceny in criminal court. Sentenced to house of correction for six months and fined $1 on January 2, 1925.
Lives in hotel; at time of offense lived with married sister.
Family: Half sister 40, brother-in-law, niece 5 in Chicago. At home in New Jersey: Stepfather 64, mother 53, brother 16, half brother 13. Married and living in their own homes: Half brother 38, half sister 36, half brother 34, half brother 28, brother 20, brother 18.

Carlo is of medium height, well-built, handsome, neat, and well-dressed. He is talkative but not a braggart and is fairly intelligent, though his lack of education is evident.

Carlo described three experiences with the police or court. Of the first he said: "I was picked up on suspicion while I was just bumming around. They never had any charge against me; they got the fellow they were after and let me go. The last time I got pinched was when I got out of a job and could not get any money, so I thought I would try the stick-up game again but it didn't pay. I got something to eat in the Bridewell." On the occasion of the offense included in the study Carlo stayed overnight in the police station. He was charged with robbery on August 15, 1924, and held for the grand jury the next day. He was committed to the county jail, where he remained four and one-half months. The charge was reduced in the criminal court to petty larceny, and Carlo was sentenced to six months in the house of correction in January. The first time he was in the police station his brother-in-law bailed him out by putting up $1,000. Carlo did not think that the jail or the stations were so bad, but "words can't tell how bad the Bridewell was." A charge before the charge included in the study appears on the court record in June, 1924, when he was accused of following a drunken man, though Carlo says he fell asleep on the street corner. He speaks of probation for one of his earlier offenses. No record of probation appears, and Carlo himself could not remember whether he was on probation to a probation officer or to a representative of some society. He said that the man was a good fellow and was so busy he did not have much time to give to him. He says it did not do him much good because he was just at the age when he did not care for anything. The social-service card at the boys' court shows that Carlo spoke of having been at the Chicago and Cook County School, but no juvenile-court record of commitment was found. As to the house of correction Carlo said: "A saint would sin in that hole. Most of the people there are awful low. That time I done in the Bridewell fixed me. Since then I steered clear of trouble. I can't say the court done me any good, but I do say the place it sent me to was so bad that it learnt me to respect the law." He realizes that the judge might have sentenced him to Joliet for 10 years and therefore appreciates that his 6-month sentence was at least "fair." He said if he had had money to pay for a lawyer he would have had a jury trial.

Carlo's home life has been varied. His father, who died 15 years ago, had married twice, the second wife being a sister of the first, and the family includes five children of the first wife and four children of the second wife. After his father's death Carlo's mother married again and had one son by that marriage. The family lives on a small truck farm in New Jersey. Occasionally Carlo's mother comes to Chicago, where she has spent a good deal of time in the last 10 years. Sometimes she visits relatives, and part of the time she has had her own apartment with some of her unmarried sons. Carlo has lived part of the time on the farm, part of the time with his mother in Chicago, and part of the time with his sister, who is married and lives in Chicago. At the time of the interview he was living in a hotel with a woman to whom he was not married. The sister lives in an attractive neighborhood in an apartment on the second floor of a 2-story brick apartment building owned by her husband. When on the farm there are no opportunities for recreation and all the members of the family stick pretty close to it. The boys used to ride a couple of old horses occasionally. Carlo says that he is on good terms with the members of his family and only objects to them when they want to make his business theirs. At the present time his brothers and sisters do not know

where he lives nor who his companions are, although they say that he formerly went around with a bad gang. They think that possibly he is married. No other delinquency has occurred in the family except for one brother who was committed to a reformatory in an eastern State. After five weeks he was released, as it was decided he was not guilty of the offense charged. The trouble arose over a fight in school.

Carlo says that he began school when about 7 years old. He repeated two grades and completed five, leaving when 15 because he "had a fuss with the teacher." At the boys' court Carlo told of having held up his teacher and being sent to the Chicago and Cook County School in 1919. He also said: "I ought to have stuck in school. It would have done me lots of good. I wish I had gone to some school that would have learned me all about flowers. That is what I want to know about, for there is good money in them. Then, education helps you along with folks you meet. You know how to get next to them better if you are educated."

He first went to work in 1920 as a farm laborer for $4 a week and his board. At the time of the offense included in the study Carlo was not employed. At the present time he is working for a florist. He says he has had 15 or 20 jobs, which he quit for various reasons. He "left Chicago" or "just wanted to shift around." Once he "got canned for copping jewelry, but I did not do it." He likes his present job. "I have got the only job for me. My boss makes plenty of dough, and he pays me every week. We make more on the side. I like my job and my boss, and he likes me. This is the only kind of work I am ever going to do." His wages are $35 a week, and apparently he receives more from the work he describes as "on the side." The only intimation he gave as to the nature of this work was that at the present time he does not drink, but he makes money "off those who do." He says that he never has belonged to a regular gang, but that he goes around with boys who belong to his boss's gang, and that he is just the same as a member at present, and will be a member before long. He is well versed in local politics. He knows who are the leaders in every ward in the city; he knows what gangs are influential; he knows (so he says) just how to reach any politicians who can be reached.

When asked regarding any conduct difficulties Carlo spoke only of his relations with his family. "I have had my ups and downs. I never got on with my step-dad, but the other brothers and sisters did. I am the bum of the family, or have been until lately, but some day I will show them one and all. Now I have got more money, and I am better fixed in a lot of ways than they are." He says that at the time of the offense included in the study he was "bumming." At the present time he pays $25 a week for room and board and has saved $200. He is living with a girl whom he says he may marry; this depends upon her getting a divorce from her present husband. It was because of this girl who passes as his wife that Carlo would not give his address or let his people know where he lives.

The chief result of Carlo's experience in the court, and especially in the house of correction, seems to be a firm intention to stay out of the clutches of the law. Apparently this intention does not include an enthusiasm for exemplary conduct. He is ambitious, and believes that if he has influential friends he can keep out of the courts, provided his conduct is not too flagrantly bad.

10. WALLACE MOORE

Interview November 29, 1926.
Native negro, parents native negro.
Present age, 22; age at time of offense, 20.
Boys' court hearing, February 18, 1924. Robbery. Held for grand jury. Committed to penitentiary 10 years to life on June 30, 1924. Stay of mittimus granted. Received at penitentiary August 14, 1924.
Interviewed at penitentiary; at time of offense lived at home.
Family: Father 55, mother 50, at home; four brothers dead; sister 28, married and living in her own home.

Tall, heavy, and very black, this boy had recently arrived in Chicago from the South. He is quiet, neat, well mannered, and intelligent in appearance and conversation.

Wallace is the only boy convicted of an offense included in the study who maintained his complete innocence of any wrongdoing in connection with either this offense or any other that would have brought him in contact with the law. He did not evade any questions. He said:

"The police arrested me and took me to the police station and beat me and kept me awake for two days and nights, trying to make me own up to helping rob some people. Then they took me to the detective bureau and kept me five or six days more, and did the same thing. Finally, I got so tired of life that I signed something, and they brought in two white boys who said they recognized me. Then they took me up to the boys' court, and then took me to the county jail, and there I stayed for four months waiting for a jury trial. They tried me and sent me down here for 10 years to life, and I know I never done nothing."

At court it was said that he was one of two boys who held up a man and that the other boy had the gun. He was in jail from February 18 to August 14, when he was taken to the penitentiary. His bail he said was set at $7,500, which he could not raise. He was found guilty on June 30 and sentenced to serve from 10 years to life in the State penitentiary. At this time a stay of mittimus was granted, delaying his transfer to the penitentiary for several weeks. At the time of the interview he had served two years and three months of his sentence and had an excellent conduct record. In June, 1925, an order was entered to continue his case until the minimum time (six years and three months) was served. At the end of that time he may be released, instead of serving the full 10-year sentence.

Of the institutions in which he has been held Wallace said: "Jail is ten times worse than here (penitentiary). You just can't get a real breath there, and if you ain't got no money, you starve to death." Of the penitentiary he said: "I get enough to eat, but it is not as good as I would like and I get all the work I want to do. They treat me good enough. When they say do something I do it quick." Wallace is far from being a vindictive person and tries to believe that everything is for the best. He said, when asked what was the effect of this experience, "Don't know as it's done me any good, but maybe it has. I've heard it said that a good purgative will do a well person good and keep him from getting sick, so the court by sending me down here will keep me out of trouble the rest of my life."

Wallace's parents could not be found, but from his description they are evidently old-fashioned Southern negroes whose religion is their chief joy. In the South they worked on a farm. In Chicago, Wallace says, they have done much better financially, and their house is "pretty well fixed up" inside. He says that his mother is "powerful nice about her house and kitchen." His father used to work for the city but was injured by an automobile and is crippled and unable to work now. Consequently his mother works in a factory where she earns $15 a week, and keeps roomers, having a house of 12 rooms, 8 of which are used as sleeping rooms. The rent is $75 a month. The house is not in a very good neighborhood. The address given is, in fact, in a neighborhood where old houses are crowded together and where the streets are in poor repair. At the time Wallace was arrested they lived on the second floor of an old ramshackle wooden building in one of the dirtiest and most congested districts of the city. Wallace said that his parents were good to him but that they were always worried about his "not getting saved."

Wallace did not enter school until he was 10. He completed five grades, repeated one, and left at the age of 16. He could give no reason for leaving school: "I just quit. That was what the other boys did." He has no intention of going to school any more but seems to have no antipathy to it. He appears more intelligent than many negroes with more education. After he stopped school Wallace worked on the farm with his father. When he came to Chicago he found other work and at the time of his offense was a laborer earning $25 a week. He has left an unknown number of positions for various reasons, such as slack work, or because he could earn more money in another job, or because he preferred inside labor to outside. "I never did loaf much," he said, "I always get a job. Always got a new one before I gave up an old one. I always helped out my father as much as I could. My mother didn't have to work away from home before I came down here. I never lost a job because I wouldn't work." He would like to have steady employment as a laborer for the city. When he was working he gave the family all that was needed, even if it was all his wages.

Wallace said that in the South he never had many boy friends but had a few very good friends with whom he spent a great deal of time. They never did anything worse than steal chickens, melons, and fruit and go 'possum hunting; but they did drink a little sometimes. He said that in Chicago, where he

had been only about two months before he got into this trouble, he knew only three boys well. He liked baseball games and church services in the city. He also misses going with girls now that he is in the penitentiary. He doesn't know much about gangs.

The officers in the penitentiary consider Wallace easy to handle. He himself will not talk about the prison life any more than to say, "I am innocent, but they treat me all right here."

This boy is one of the recent negro immigrants from the South to Chicago. Before he had become adjusted to the new situation he came in conflict with the legal authorities. He had no friends to whom he could appeal, and he received a stiff sentence. When released from the penitentiary, he will have the same problems he had before his commitment. He will still be a stranger in a strange land, and he will need as much as ever the guidance and help in adjustment that he did not find when he first came to the North. In addition, he will have responsibilities resulting from his father's crippled condition. Wallace expressed the dissatisfaction of many young negroes in a similar position. He said that Northern negroes "ain't no good" and that in the South he never had white folks "to chase him"; that there he got on fine with the white folks but up here, "the white folks sit by you on the cars but hit you in the back when you turn around."

11. TONY TAGLIA

Interview February 6, 1927.
Native white, parents born in Italy. Father in United States 27 years; mother, 24 years. Present age, 22; age at time of offense, 19.
Boys' court hearing, April 25, 1924. Assault with a deadly weapon. Discharged May 26, 1924.
Lives in disreputable establishment; at time of offense lived at home.
Family: Father 55, mother 53, brothers 24, 18, 17, 13, 12; sisters 19, 16. One brother dead.

Dark, strong, and heavy set, dressed in a flashy fashion, and wearing a diamond stud, this young man is hard in manner and boastful in conversation. His language is consistently unpleasant. According to his own statement he belongs to one of the most powerful gangs in the city.

This young man runs a disorderly house, a bootleggers' establishment, and a gambling den in a section of Little Italy. When asked about his arrests and court experience he said he had been arrested about twenty-five times. "You see," he explained, "when some complaint goes in the cops make a raid. We go to court and get off with a fine. The gang pays it. The cops have to make these raids to hold their jobs, but they let us know when they are coming and we are ready. They get credit for conviction, but what they have on us just drags down a fine. Poor devils who ain't got no influence go to the pen." Concerning the offense included in the study the social-service department card reports that Tony was drunk and stabbed a man. Tony said: "I was doing a little house cleaning when that bird got hard and pulled a knife. I just showed him the latest style in carving, and that was all. I had a good lawyer. We drug the case on in court, scared the bird who got cut, and finally I got turned loose, for they couldn't prove I done it."

When asked about detention he said: "I never have put in time in jail and not much time in police stations. Our lawyer manages to get me out right away when I get in. The gang lawyer has the dough to put up for bonds." He was in the Chicago Parental School when a boy but said: "I don't remember anything about all that; I was just a kid then. I just remember that they were tight on me, and that made me worse than ever. I can't stand bosses." In regard to the court Tony said: "That court can help good religious boys, but it does fellows like me no good nor no harm. I go on just the same as if there were no courts of no kind."

In the two and one-half years previous to the offense included in this study Tony had been in court on four charges of disorderly conduct and one charge of robbery. The robbery and two disorderly-conduct cases were discharged. On the other two charges he was fined, once $10, and once $50. The records for the two years after the scheduled offense show seven court appearances, five for disorderly conduct, one for speeding, and one as an inmate of a gambling den. On the gambling charge Tony was discharged, and for speeding a warrant was made out and no disposition recorded. Two of the disorderly charges were dismissed, and three drew fines of $5, $25, and $100, respectively.

The Taglia family have lived for at least nine years in a 5-room brick and frame cottage which they own. The house is dilapidated, and the yard is very badly kept. The whole neighborhood is run down. It is one of the old "red-light" districts of Chicago. The population is principally Italian and Chinese. The inside of the Taglia house is filthy, poverty-stricken, drab, and disorderly. In the midst of débris and dirt is a phonograph but very little furniture. Mrs. Taglia's clothing is dirty and tattered, but she is quite pleasant and smiling. The younger daughter, 16, was barefooted, ragged, and filthy. Mr. Taglia is a hard-working street cleaner earning $30 a week, and the oldest daughter is a telephone operator earning $17 a week. This girl turns over her pay check to her mother. The father has had the same job for years, and the two support the family. The oldest son lives at home and is a truck driver earning $30 a week, but he contributes nothing toward the family expenses. Two boys, 17 and 18 years old, are also at home but are unemployed. The three youngest children are still in school. The youngest at 12 years is in the fourth grade; his brother, a year older, is only in the third grade; and the 16-year-old girl is in the seventh grade.

Tony has not lived at home for some time. Mrs. Taglia explained that she does not know where he lives; neither does she know how the next youngest son earns his living or where he stays. He still nominally lives at home but is very seldom there even for meals. So far as the mother knows he is not employed. Either Mrs. Taglia knew very little in regard to her sons' lives, or she was determined not to tell all that she knew.

The boy just younger than Tony has a juvenile-court record. He had been a truant, having run away from home twice. He was sent to the Chicago and Cook County School in November, 1923. Just before this his parents had been in court on a charge of neglect. The mother is said to have been tuberculous. The boy with the juvenile-court record is not very fond of his mother and father. The mother apparently neglects and the father scolds the boys. The mother has been anxious that her children go to school and obtain an education, but the house has been an unattractive place for anyone to live in.

Tony entered school at 7 and left at 14, having completed four grades and repeated two. He said that he left because he was "tired of all that bunk; tired of fussy old maids." His general idea of school he expressed as follows: "They can like it as wants to; as for me it is all the bunk. I ain't never got no good from school and don't expect to. The country is wasting money on schools all the time. Better give it to poor people."

Tony's mother said that his first job was as an office boy at $18 a week, but that from the time he was 14 he held no job at all until he was 19 and was taken before the boys' court. He then obtained a job so that he could tell the judge he was working. As soon as his case was discharged he quit. During these years, his mother said, he merely loafed on the streets, and since his court experience he has worked very irregularly and only for short periods. Tony insists, however, that he has always worked but that his parents don't call what he does work. He says that he was first a pool-room helper at $10 a week and that at the time of the offense included in the study he was boss of a pool room and earned $35 a week. At the present time he describes his occupation as boss of a gambling house and bouncer of a house of prostitution. He earns $40 a week. He has had this position for six months. He has had many such jobs and says that he usually keeps a job "until the joint is closed by some squawking cop." Tony has never done any constructive work. His opinion is that people who work out in the cold all day for small wages are "dumb-bells." At the present time and at the time of the offense included in the study Tony paid $20 a week for room and board. He owns a car worth $1,500 and apparently has no other property or savings.

Mrs. Taglia says that Tony has always been a problem. From early childhood he was hard to manage, and he was a truant throughout his school career. She often asked police officers to help her locate him when he ran away. He once ran away and was gone for 15 days, although it was found later that he had been sleeping in the basement of the house at night. Beyond saying that Tony hung out with a gang his mother could make no statement about his recreation.

Tony admits that he belongs to a gang and says: "It's the strongest one on the West Side and is one of the real big and good ones in the city. What we want we get." He associates with very low women and speaks in vulgar terms about his relations with them. He showed how the house in which he works is arranged so that a person can not get out of it if he is suspected of being a

spy. He admitted that he sells liquor and drinks "plenty of it, too." As to his general conduct Tony said: "I always get on all right in my own way. My folks don't think so, and you may not. I was born fighting, and I have kept it up. Nobody tries raising a roughhouse here, for if anybody does I settle him quick with a left or right hook, or a pistol, if that doesn't do. I have always had run-ins with cops, some of them. Others I have got acquainted with in my gang, and they're good fellows. That is the only trouble I've had, just fights. Of course if I didn't belong to a strong gang and pay my share of graft I couldn't get away with it."

With three boys of working age unemployed, so far as the mother knows, it seems probable that the means of livelihood of both of Tony's brothers may be somewhat similar to his. Tony is evidently established as a gangster who performs some of the most obnoxious of the gang's duties. In return he has the gang's protection. Discharges and fines are certainly entirely ineffective in dealing with the offenses for which Tony has been brought into court. Either disposition leaves him free to carry on his old occupation, which means continuing to commit the offenses for which he was brought into court. Nothing short of a most radical procedure involving the heads of these institutions, instead of employees like Tony, and sincere efforts at closing such places would be effective.

12. ANTON NEITA

Interview December 15, 1926.
Native white. Father born in Poland, mother native.
Present age, 19; age at time of offense, 17.
Boys' court hearing, March 27, 1924. Assault with a deadly weapon. Placed on probation for six months, April 26, 1924. Discharged from probation at expiration of term. Result "doubtful."
Lives with sister; at time of offense lived at home.
Family: Stepfather 42, mother 40, at home. Sister 23, married and living in her own home. Sisters 17, 10, 8, 7; stepbrother 8. Father died in 1923. Sister dead. Mother worked away from home until six months ago.

Anton is a slender boy of medium height, undernourished in appearance, rather untidy, and not very clean. In conversation he is evasive, talks little, seems dull, and gives the impression of being a backward, if not feeble-minded, boy. The boys' court sent him for mental examination to the psychopathic laboratory, where his mental age was found to be 10½ years and he was diagnosed as a high-grade moron plus dementia præcox hebephrenia.

Of the offense included in the study Anton said: "This time it was for shooting a boy. I couldn't help it. It was just an accident. The cops said it was my fault, and they beat up on me for a hour or two down at the (detective) bureau. The judge lectured to me and let me go on six months of probation, for he found out that I did not shoot him on purpose." The court records show that the charge was assault with a deadly weapon and that after a month the boy was placed on probation for six months. Before this offense Anton had been in the juvenile court on a charge of burglary. He had run away from home and with two other boys had annoyed a young girl and burglarized a shoe-shining parlor. He was sent to the Chicago and Cook County School in November, 1923, but stayed there only three weeks. This was the year his father died. His conduct at the school is said to have been poor, but he was paroled and finally discharged when over 17, with a poor conduct record. Again, after the offense that was heard in the boys' court, Anton was in the juvenile court on a charge of stealing bicycle parts, for which he was returned to the Chicago and Cook County School for violation of parole. The conflict of jurisdiction between the juvenile court and the boys' court was possibly due to Anton's varying statements in regard to his age. On the boys' court record he appears as having been born April 1, 1907, but during the interview in connection with this study he said that he was really born in 1906 but had given the other date in order to be heard in the court he wanted. Since these experiences he has been in court twice. In February, 1925, he was held for the grand jury by a branch court, but in March no "true bill" was found. In April he was again charged with burglary and this time was sentenced by the criminal court to four months in the house of correction. Anton's description of his court experience does not tally exactly with the court record, although he describes three arrests. He said:

"The first time was for running away from home. I did not like to stay with my mother, so I ran away and the cops pinched me." He then described the shooting affair: "The last time was on the Fourth of July, and we was

all in the park and drunk and I don't know what I done, but they sent me away for four months." When questioned further about this difficulty he would not say that he knew anything more about it and finally refused to talk at all. He gave the impression that he may have been even more deeply implicated than was brought out during the trial. Anton was never in jail and says he never had to put up security. Each time he was arrested, however, he stayed in the police station overnight. He said: "The stations are not so bad when you consider what they are for."

Probation does not seem to have made any impression upon him. He showed no interest in it; probably his mental capacity is not sufficient to enable him to benefit by this sort of treatment. Little opportunity was given him, however, to profit by it. He made no reports to the officer, according to the record in the probation office. The probation officer reports that he called once and spoke to the mother; that he called the next month and found no one at home. Another visit was not made for two months. On this occasion the officer reported that the landlady said they had moved away. No record is found of any effort on his part to trace the family. Even the first visit of the probation officer to the home can have been of little use, as he reported: "The mother speaks very little English, only speaks Italian." As the mother was born in this country and is of Polish extraction, it is probable that the right family was never once seen by the officer. At the expiration of the 6-month term Anton was discharged from probation, and results were recorded as "doubtful."

Anton was in the house of correction from July 6 to October 31, 1926. The only expression in regard to this experience which he would make was: "Gee! that was an awful place; I never want any more of it."

Anton's home conditions could hardly have been worse. Since 1914, when he was 7 years old, the family has been known to social agencies as very undesirable, and ever since that time (12 years ago) the children have been under supervision by the juvenile court, by reason of bad home conditions. Six agencies have registered the family at the social-service exchange. The mother and father were both known to drink. The father several times reported to the court that his wife drank too much to give the children proper care. After the father's death in 1923 reports were received both of the mother's drinking and of her receiving men visitors at night. The mother also worked away from home at least during the last 12 years. After her husband's death she worked for a time on a truck farm. To reach this work she was forced to leave home at 4 o'clock in the morning and did not return until 7 o'clock at night. The children were left alone at home. In speaking of his childhood Anton said that his mother was always too busy to be interested in him, that he had never been welcome in her home, and that some of his relatives had told him that his mother had never wanted children. He said that his mother had cared little for him. The mother at the present time says that the stepfather to whom she was married six months ago does not want the children in their home. She also told the agent who interviewed her for this study that she did not like Anton. She had heard from a brother of hers that Anton was in the Bridewell. She herself had had no word from him for so many months that she had not known of his sentence. The stepfather wanted to visit Anton when he heard that he was in the Bridewell and was trying to persuade the mother to go with him. The stepfather drinks, but there is no indication from any source other than the mother that he is not willing to have the children in his home.

During the 12 years that the juvenile-court officer has visited the family (once every month except for 16 months when they were lost to the court) the places in which the family has lived have been very disagreeable. In one house one of the girls was bitten badly by a rat. The house in which the family now lives is in a poor business and residential district, comprised of two and three story brick and frame apartment buildings, with many rear houses. The mother appeared to be delighted with her new quarters and mentioned as one of the advantages the fact that there were no rats. The street is dirty, and the flat was dirty and untidy. The family have moved twice since Anton's offense.

Anton has not lived in his mother's home lately. After coming out of the house of correction, at the end of October, he went to his sister's home. Her four-room apartment, which rents for $18 a month, is in a small brick building on a business street, near an industrial center. The community is considerably better than that in which his mother lives. The apartment is

clean but dark. The furniture is simple but adequate. The apartment is crowded, and the atmosphere was stuffy and close. There was no evidence of home recreation of any kind. The family consists of the sister and her husband and their three children and of Anton and his 14-year-old sister. The brother-in-law is a construction worker making $35 a week. The sister seemed to be sympathetic with Anton, and the brother-in-law was on friendly terms with him. Although the relationships in this home are much better than in his mother's home, his sister and brother-in-law are probably too indulgent and do not give him the supervision that he needs.

The family at home attend church regularly. The children have all lived irregularly, being sometimes at home, sometimes with relatives, sometimes in other homes, and sometimes in institutions. During a long period in which social agencies have been in close touch with this family, no permanent plan has been worked out for any of them. Only the oldest girl seems to have made a satisfactory adjustment. She was committed to a school for dependent girls in 1915 at the same time that Anton was committed to a training school for boys. They were both kept on probation until 1919. Apparently the girl's marriage has been successful although her husband's wages are rather inadequate for the family. In the same year that the two oldest children were placed in training schools as dependents the next two children (both girls) were placed with the grandmother, the father paying $2 a week for their care. They also were released from supervision in 1919. They have lived with various relatives and in other families, and one of them was in an institution. They frequently ran away to their mother or sister. Finally, the second girl was placed with her sister and has remained there. In 1924 the two children still younger were placed on probation to live with the oldest sister, then married. They were later sent to the industrial school and ran away from there. They were subsequently placed in other homes, and during the last year they have been in the home of a woman who wishes to adopt them. The mother, however, will not consent to adoption, although she is perfectly willing for the children to stay away from home. The children still return to their mother from time to time. Police have been sent to the mother's home for them, and on one occasion they hid under the bed while their mother said they were not at home. One sister was scalded to death in 1923. The only delinquencies except Anton's charged against the family are against the parents. The mother in 1915 was picked up on the street drunk, fined $40 and costs, and sent to the House of the Good Shepherd for three months.

At the present time the stepfather is employed in the smoke room of the stockyards and earns $35 a week. The oldest unmarried sister lives with relatives and works in an electric shop. As the next sister is with the married sister and two younger girls are usually in another family home, no children are with the mother except the child of Anton's stepfather, a boy of 8. The younger children are in the first, second, and third grades at 7, 8, and 10 years of age, respectively.

Anton entered a parochial school at 7 years of age and remained until 12, if he is the age he now claims to be. According to the date of birth given the boys' court, he was only 11 when he stopped school. The mother's story is that he had stopped school at 14 and had been at work for some time before she and the boy's father were aware of it. Undoubtedly she has had enough contact with school authorities and the law to realize that his work was illegal. Probably this is the reason that she disclaims any knowledge of it, for Anton says that he "had to work to help father" and when asked about his mother's statement said that his parents did know when he went to work. He says he had completed four grades and had repeated one. His mother says that he had completed only three grades. Anton said: "School is a lot of bunk to me. I never liked it. I never had clothes like others, and somehow I never learned fast, and what I did learn never done me any good."

Anton said that he first worked on a truck farm with his mother. At the time of the offense studied he was a driver making deliveries of daily papers for $18 to $20 a week. When he came out of the house of correction he became a factory laborer at $20 a week. He does not know how many different jobs he has had and says he "just changed when he didn't like what he was doing." Apparently he can not keep a position long. He often gets into discussions and arguments and fights with his fellow workers and with his bosses. At the time of his offense he was paying $10 a week for his room and board and pays the same amount to his sister at present.

Anton's mother said that he was a "server" at church when a small boy and used to march in the processions and attend church regularly. He was a truant from school and was always unmanageable. She says his present companions are undesirable.

Of his companionships and recreation Anton said: "I don't go but with a few boys. We go to shows (movies), and go riding and play ball. In the summer we go to basball games. Then we hang out on the streets or in stores sometimes." He admitted that he drinks moonshine "fairly often." He does not have much time to spend with girls but frankly states that he is a constant caller on immoral women. In regard to his conduct difficulties he said: "I have been getting in trouble ever since I can remember, and I guess I always will be doing it, for somehow I get a chance and I can't turn it down. My mother may have helped me along. People shouldn't say anything about parents, and especially dead ones, but my father and mother just didn't pay me no attention when I was growing up. I raised myself and made an awful mess of it."

Anton seems to have no inherently bad qualities but to have little will power and to act as others direct or lead. He has no great amount of energy and no initiative. Let alone he would do little harm. In a good environment he might get along fairly well. Strict supervision and good home influence might have saved this boy from his present predicament. Although he impressed the probation officer, the juvenile-court officer, and the bureau agent, as of subnormal mentality, no effort was made by the agencies so closely in touch with him from the time he was 7 years old until he was 17 to have him examined mentally. This failure is difficult to explain in view of his retardation in school. Apparently no effort was ever made to adjust the school curriculum to his particular abilities. According to his mother, the school-teachers did not report Anton's absence to her after he finally stopped school "because they didn't care." For this weak but harmless boy neither his home nor his school "cared." A representative of the juvenile court attempted to supply the care which was needed, and the efforts of this one agency were not successful. Later, when Anton came to the attention of the boys' court, another opportunity provided by society, probationary care, also failed to provide the supervision that he needed. Commitment to a correctional institution at least gave him discipline but for a very short time only. No provision was made for supervision of this boy or boys like him after they left the institution. To sum up, favorable conditions of living, including rather strict supervision, might have been successful with this boy in spite of the unfavorable mental diagnosis and his early environment. These have not been provided.

13. JOSEPH STRAKA

Interview January 15, 1927.
Native white, parents born in Czechoslovakia. Mother in United States 34 years, father at least 23 years.
Present age, 21; age at time of offense, 19.
Boys' court hearing, December 15, 1925. Assault and battery. Continued four times. Dismissed for want of prosecution, April 2, 1926.
Lives in room over dance hall; at time of offense lived with mother.
Family: Mother 41, sister 20, sister 18, brother 16. Father divorced. Sister 24, married, living in own home.

Joseph is tall and heavy, clean-cut, and neat in appearance. In the interview he was businesslike and courteous, seemed talkative and energetic. He has an explosive temper which returns to normal quickly. During the continuance of this case Joseph was examined in the psychopathic laboratory, where he was found to have a mental age of 12⅔ years and was classified as a high-grade borderland sociopath plus dementia præcox katatonia.

In regard to his offense Joseph refuses to say much. "What took me before the court appears on the record, and that is all I have to say about the matter. It is purely domestic and is not for other people to know." His mother explained that Joseph interfered in his parents' domestic difficulties and tried to protect her. His father had him in court twice "just for meanness." The father and mother both appeared in court with him. The mother says that the judge explained to her that the only reason he continued the case and did not discharge the boy at once was because of the effect it might have on other boys in the court room, who might feel that they could go home and "beat up their fathers and get away with it." Joseph did not stay in the police station at all as he was allowed to go on his own recognizance. He says that

his court experience had no effect on his conduct. He then explained as follows: "I smashed my daddy in the mouth for cursing my mother. That is all that will teach him, as he is not bad enough to coop up in an insane hospital."

The home in which the family lived at the time of Joseph's court appearance and at the time of the study is in a clean, uncongested neighborhood in a combination business and residence district. The building is owned by Mrs. Straka. It is a two-story brick building on a corner. The family occupies seven rooms, three of which are sleeping rooms, on the second floor, and on the first floor the mother conducts a small store and lunch room. The combination kitchen and living room back of the store was untidy and upset at the time of the visit.

The parents were divorced last December after having lived together for 23 years. Mrs. Straka divorced her husband on account of cruelty, saying she could not stand living with him any longer. She feels a strong obligation toward her children until they are 21, but after that age has been reached she feels that her responsibility ends and that what they do is their own concern. The youngest sister finished high school and wanted to become a gymnasium teacher, but finding that this training was too expensive, she took business training and is a stenographer earning $25 a week. The older sister never liked school and went to high school only two years. She is a typist earning $18 a week. The boy, 16 years of age, is in the second year of high school.

Joseph is not living at home now. He lives over a dance hall which he manages. He says that although his mother's home had a radio, phonograph, and piano, he does not need them in his room as they are all provided in the dance hall. He has a few books in his own room which he uses in studying law and psychology.

Joseph started to school when 6 years old and graduated from high school in 1922, having skipped one grade. He then went to night school and has finished a law course. He did not pass his bar examination but may take it again next summer. Joseph discusses the purpose and value of education with some understanding and in rather pretentious language.

When he was 16 Joseph earned $15 a week working for a large corporation. He left that position to go back to school. Two later positions he left in order to get more remunerative work and to get into business for himself. He has been manager of the dance hall for the last six months; at this occupation he averages $75 a week. He pays $25 a week for his board and room and has saved approximately $1,000. At the time of his court appearance he was paying (while living at home) $15 a week to his mother. In regard to his relation with others while employed he says: "I am not a good employee; when I have worked for others I have never soldiered on the job, but I have been hard to get along with. That I know. It is my weakness—this bad temper—but I am controlling it now. When I am giving orders I do not get angry, for I try to treat folks white. It is when I take orders from someone who is cross that I fly off the handle."

The two occasions on which Joseph's father took him to court were the only court experiences on record against him. The first one was about three months before the offense studied, and Joseph was discharged at once. His mother says that he has a rather bad temper but has never done anything really bad. She seems not to know much about his life at present. As to his social life at present Joseph said: "My recreation is clean and square, and I am not ashamed of my companions. I know some mighty nice girls. I meet all kinds in my work, but only the intelligent and interesting ones, who in addition possess character, appeal to me. As to my boy chums they are business men." From his general conversation it was gathered that Joseph spends much time with young people, many of them college bred, who have a liberal or literary slant. He spoke of friends among members of a certain club, known as a rendezvous of artists and pseudo artists, and a center for discussion and amusement among persons of radical or semiradical views. Joseph seems to have a craving for learning and to have made some headway in attaining it. He has somewhat advanced social and economic ideas which are not yet settled or ordered. He seems open-minded and fair.

Joseph's court experience seems to have had little effect upon his conduct but to have given him some insight into the workings of the law. Probably his perception was strengthened by his previous law studies. His experience seems to have convinced him that our system of justice lacks individualization of treatment and suffers from publicity. He said: "We are working

yet under an old feudal system that was created to protect individuals by preventing kings from getting rid of people they disliked through secret trials. We no longer need that. What individuals need now is privacy and scientific treatment of their troubles, and newspaper reporters need to be barred from court rooms." He is apparently able to dissociate himself from this unpleasant experience and to look at it from an objective point of view. The experience in court will probably have little effect upon his career. His handicaps are a broken home, the cruelty he has witnessed, and his participation in the trouble between his parents which was possibly due to his father's mental trouble. Unfortunately his mother feels little responsibility toward her grown son and is able to give him little of the guidance needed by a boy of Joseph's ability and tendencies.

BURGLARY

Only three boys charged with burglary were included in the intensive study. Matthew Bates (case 14), the son of a deserting father, had had a long court record, first in the juvenile court and later in other courts. Ten social agencies had known the family. For the offense included in the study, in which his younger brother was also involved, he was given 30 days in the house of correction. The discharge of his brother (whose history is not given in detail in this report) was perhaps justified. Anthony Grillo's history (not included in the cases given in detail) of one term of probation followed by a settlement out of court on a charge of bastardy, and by five discharges, two of which, however, followed violation of traffic regulations only, indicates that other treatment was needed. His record when discharged from probation was "satisfactory" although he had been in court several times during his probationary period.

The case of Matthew Bates follows:

14. MATTHEW BATES

Interview December 13, 1926.
Native negro, parents native negro.
Present age, 22; age at time of offense, 20.
Boys' court hearing, June 4, 1925. Burglary. Held for grand jury. Bail $5,000. Committed to jail. Disposition by criminal court on charge reduced to petty larceny. Sentenced to 30 days in house of correction and fined $1, September 22, 1925.
Interviewed at reformatory; at time of offense lived at home.
Family: Mother 53, brother 25, brother 18, brother 16, sister 13, brother 9. Father 51, deserting. Brother born 1916, died 1917. Mother works away from home.

Matthew is very black, of medium height and weight, and neat in appearance. He seems frank, intelligent, well-informed, and aggressive, and adopts an attitude of superiority, although he is courteous. He was sent to the psychopathic laboratory by the boys' court in 1923 where he was found to have a mental age of 13 and was classified as a low-grade sociopath plus dementia præcox katatonia. The only report of his examination on the social-service records of the court is "not commitable."

Matthew's contact with the courts began at the age of 11, when he was taken to the juvenile court for cutting out lead pipe in a house and was placed under the supervision of a probation officer. Less than a month later he was again in court for stealing money. This case was not pressed, but a truancy charge was made and he was committed to a school for truants. No more was heard from him in the court for two years when he again appeared, charged with stealing a car radiator and brass. After two continuances he was committed to the St. Charles School for Boys, which he entered in 1918. He made a good record there and was paroled June 30, 1921. His record while on parole was also good, and he was released from parole January 27, 1922. The juvenile-court record, however, shows that he was released from jurisdiction without improvement on October 28, 1921. Before this final release from juvenile jurisdiction he had been taken to the boys' court on a charge of larceny, for which he was put on probation for six months. During this term of probation he was again in court charged with burglary and was held for the grand jury on a $2,500 bond. Ap-

parently he was not convicted on this charge. In April, 1923, he was in a branch court for disorderly conduct and was discharged. In July of that year he was charged with larceny, having stolen four suits from a store. This charge was reduced, and he was committed to the house of correction for 60 days and fined $1. In November of the same year, he was charged with carrying a concealed weapon and with burglary. On this occasion he was committed to the Pontiac Reformatory for one year. He was discharged from the reformatory on November 5, 1924. The offense included in the study occurred on June 4, 1925, when he was charged with burglary, having broken into a drug store. On this occasion it was charged that his two brothers also accompanied him and that a small brother sold the loot. Matthew was committed to the house of correction for 30 days. In February, 1926, he was charged with burglary and larceny and held for the grand jury on bonds for $1,500. The criminal court in March, 1926, committed him to Pontiac on a 1 to 10 year sentence.

In telling of his delinquent career Matthew says: "I got started young, and I have never let up. I can not blame anyone besides my own fool self. I started in as a school boy and got acquainted with the juvenile court, and I have done everything mean that came in my way. However, I have never used violence. Somehow, I have a tender heart in spite of all my bad record. I am really a kleptomaniac, and that only when I am drinking; otherwise I am a good citizen, for even if I do commit other breaches of society's standards, they are largely such breaches as all youngsters commit."

The arrest which Matthew discussed included one when he was sitting in a car which he thought belonged to another boy who was with him. The cops came, the other boy ran away, and Matthew was caught. "I was innocent. They showed me the 'gold fish' and everything, to make me give the other boy's name, but I didn't know it except as 'Joe'." Matthew says that the time he was arrested for stealing from a residence he was guilty and that he got off light with a year in Pontiac. He says that when he stole clothes from a store and got 60 days in the house of correction he deserved them all; another time he was picked up for being drunk, but, though discharged, he was guilty. The offense included in the study, for which he served 30 days in the house of correction, was merely another in the series with nothing unusual to mark it. Describing the offense for which he is now in Pontiac, Matthew said: "The last time I got arrested for my old weakness—burglary. That time I had a gun, so they gave me 1 to 10 years. That means 6 years for me, and I can't complain. Society must be protected. Of course, I would never have tried the last stunt if I had not been loaded with booze."

Speaking of his detention Matthew said: "I had three jail trips besides my many adventures in police stations. Everybody knows that jails and police stations are made for society's enemies, and, naturally, they are made as uncomfortable as possible. Sometimes they are clean and sometimes not, all depending on who is in charge of them and how many are in them at once." As he remembers it, he was in jail about a week in 1921, two weeks in 1923, and a month in 1925. He has been committed to two schools for juvenile delinquents. Since passing beyond the jurisdiction of the juvenile court he has had two sentences to the house of correction and two sentences to Pontiac. "None of the institutions are bad. The folks in them are. I have had good treatment always. I obey orders and get on fine. I get more than I deserve. I have no criticism to offer—it all depends on the man." Matthew's mother indicates that he gets on well in institutions. She says that now at Pontiac he is "as fat as a butter ball." She also thought that Matthew was benefited by his stay in a State school for juvenile delinquents.

During Matthew's boyhood, according to the juvenile-court records, the mother was in very destitute circumstances, and the family was an occasional charge on charity for a number of years, though it had never been completely dependent upon outside sources for any length of time. Ten social agencies, including two family-welfare agencies, were registered at the social-service exchange as knowing the family. The father had been a chronic temporary deserter from 1914 until about 1918, when he shot at a man in the neighborhood and killed a boy, and ran away to escape arrest. Since then he has not been heard from. Two years before the study the mother was ill and unable to work for some time. The family had to give up their apartment and lived in rooms.

The family is getting along better now with two or three sons and the mother working. Such luxuries as an expensive radio set and a wardrobe trunk for which the oldest boy, who has never taken a trip in his life and has no plans

for one, paid $87, adorn the parlor (which also serves as a bedroom) of the 5-room apartment. The home is clean, as are the members of the family, one of whom was ironing a snow-white wash at the time of the agent's visit; but the neighborhood is in the poorest section of Chicago's "black belt," the street is narrow and unpaved, and railroads and factories are very near. The houses are small brick and frame huts, very old and in bad repair, and for the most part dirty and smelly.

The mother does laundry work and housework, at which she earns $16 or more a week. The oldest son earns $18 a week as a laborer, and the 18-year-old boy earns $12 a week as a delivery boy. The 16-year-old boy was out of work at the time of the interview. He was helping with the cooking at home. The two younger children are in school.

The members of the family are sympathetic and affectionate, and the home life appears to be happy and congenial. The children are helpful with the cooking and housework and do it well. Although Matthew is regarded as a "trouble maker" his mother says he is most considerate in the home, giving her more money than any of the other children and waiting on her. The members of the family listen to the radio every evening; the mother says it seems to keep the boys at home. On Sunday mornings they tune in on religious services instead of going to church. The mother says she knows most of her neighbors, and the children have their friends although they spend a good deal of time at home.

Mrs. Bates is very fond of her children and would rather be with them than with anyone else. She says that they are all very good with the exception of Matthew, who taught the others some bad tricks. Whenever the other boys were arrested, she says, it was due to Matthew's influence with them that they got into trouble. Court records show various delinquencies of different members of the family. The oldest boy was in the juvenile court in 1914 for stealing a bicycle but was discharged. In 1917 he was in the juvenile court for cutting and carrying away lead pipe from two houses, causing damage of $150 in each. Andrew, just younger than Matthew, was in the boys' court twice in 1924 and 1925—once after a raid in a pool hall, and the second time on the burglary charge for which Matthew was sent to the house of correction. Andrew was also at the Chicago and Cook County School when a young boy. A few weeks ago Mrs. Bates reported Dan (the 16-year-old boy) to the court apparently because he was out of work, as she insists he has never been in any trouble outside his home.

Entering school at 6 years of age, Matthew left during his third year of high school in order to help the family. He said: "I always liked going to school. It was always easy for me. I wish very much that opportunity had existed for me to go to college. Had I not allowed myself, while a mere youth, to be sidetracked into a life of crime, I might have been in a position by this time to secure college training. As it is, I am forced to gain my knowledge by outside reading, such as Wells's Outline of History. At that, I know more than most college graduates, but I lack technical or professional training."

Matthew says that he has worked interruptedly since he was 10 years old. He first worked for his father; he has no idea how many positions he has had. Some he held for only a day or two. He said: "There has always been a restless feeling in me that pushes me from one thing to another. My desire to know something about everything seems to drive me on and on. That makes confinement here (at Pontiac) a great punishment for me. I have had some splendid jobs in construction work—that is, good jobs for unskilled labor—but a job of that kind doesn't last very long. To be honest, I had rather do the planning, supervising, and bossing, than the work, but I don't know enough to get into that field of work. I know I am not a good laborer, for I ask too many reasons why and don't just act like a machine." He says he would like to study to be an engineer. Matthew learned to cook at St. Charles and worked as a cook there and is now a cook at Pontiac. When outside of institutions, he does not try to get work as cook, although he helps with the family meals.

Even Matthew's mother says that "he is a real bad boy" and that he has been stealing things all his life, although he has never stolen much of value. She says that he worked when he was quite young, and is a good worker when he works, but being unskilled he is frequently laid off. He gets into trouble every time he is unemployed. He has been a bad influence on his brothers and sometimes took them along or got them involved in his crimes. He spends his time, when outside an institution, with very bad companions. His girl, how-

ever, is very nice; and as he spends a good deal of time with her, the mother hopes she may have a good influence on him. She really thinks, however, that he will always be a robber and is quite discouraged about him. She says that Matthew belongs to an organized gang. Matthew also says: "Yes, I am a so-called gangster. That has been my making and my breaking. It has been my lot to be a leader in my outfit, and that has developed my personality. Not many of our gang can make a sensible talk or address, but I can. I got that from my father, who was a minister. In that way it has made me. But what I have done in the gang and what I have learned has been my breaking, together with liquor. I always do my rough stuff while under the influence of strong drink." As to his other companions, he said: "I like good-looking girls. I miss them, and dances and shows, worse than anything else (while in an institution)."

Matthew says that he understands the object of probation. "It is to help reform a boy, but it just didn't work in my case. But that doesn't mean it is no good. I figure it does work about one time out of five. In a case like mine leniency is no good. I am one of those individuals who has to have the full limit of the law—and then it looks like it hadn't helped me." His final estimate is, "Nothing has done me any good. I got started wrong, and now I find I am just an ordinary fool with a good intellect."

Whether Matthew's good behavior while in institutions is due solely to the absence of liquor or whether the institution discipline is also necessary to his good behavior has not been determined. The mental diagnosis suggests that though fairly intelligent his emotional make-up may be the determining factor in his behavior. The "wrong start" at which he begins the story of his delinquencies was easy in his home, with his mother always away working, and in the poor neighborhoods in which he lived. His brothers, however, subject to the same environment, did not develop as he did. Like the habitual adult criminal Matthew conforms to institutional requirements so that he has a "good record" but is quite uninfluenced by it.

AUTOMOBILE LARCENY

Contrasting conditions and motives are shown in the 10 cases of larceny of automobiles, as in those preceding. Steve Lozinsky (case 15), a bright, energetic, and attractive 17-year-old boy, was the son of respected, well-educated, but extremely strict Polish parents, who appeared to have little affection for and no understanding of their children. Partly in order to get even with them he stole or rode in stolen automobiles. In contrast, Louis Angelo (case 17), also a child of immigrants, was adored by his indulgent parents, never learned to work, and can not keep a job. Against a family background of limited economic resources requiring a continual struggle to make both ends meet, Elmer Andrews (case 16), developed a feeling of superiority which his court experiences did not diminish. Although ambitious to get on in the world, he left high school during his first year because he could not dress as well as the other boys. Clement Dunne (case 18), was so depressed by his single conflict with the law that he attempted suicide.

These four boys, whose histories are given in some detail, were placed on probation. Steve and Elmer apparently benefited from the supervision given them, Elmer being especially fortunate in the probation officer to whom he was assigned. For Louis probation was ineffective, and Clement's bitterness was increased by probation, which seems to have been regarded as a club by an officer who failed utterly to understand the boy's needs.

In most of the dismissed and discharged cases, which are not presented in detail, constructive care was needed and was not provided.

The histories of 4 of the 10 boys in this group follow:

15. STEVE LOZINSKY

Interview November 20, 1926.
Native white, parents born in Poland. Father in United States 23 years, mother 33 years.
Present age, 19; age at time of offense, 17.
Boys' court hearing, November 12, 1924. Larceny of automobile. On November 24, 1924, the felony charge was dismissed for want of prosecution and he was placed on probation for six months on a misdemeanor charge. Discharged from probation, May 12, 1925.
Lives at home.
Family: Father 45, mother 42, sisters 18, 15, 11, 6; brothers 13, 9, 7, 4. Brother 22, and sister 16, boarding.

Of medium height and weight, very neat, conservatively and well dressed, Steve impresses one as a clean-cut, intelligent young man with many good qualities.

Steve describes his court experience and offense as follows:

"We four boys went to a dance hall and found a car unlocked. We did not know the owner, but we wanted a ride, so we got in. I took the wheel, and we drove off. We stopped to get some gas, and a policeman became suspicious of us, took us up, called up police headquarters, and found we were in a stolen car. They took us down town, and I called up home. Father came and bailed me out for $2,500. The police station was not clean. The detective bureau was a regular dump. The police were lots harder than there was any need for them to be. We went to court and got our sentence. I was scared nearly to death. I was mighty glad to get six months probation and a chance to go straight. I had two probation officers, a man for a while, then a woman. She was real good. She done me lots of good. Just to go down once a month and go to all that trouble and explain all about what you were doing was enough to make any boy who has an average mind stop and think before he goes on and gets into more trouble. Probation did me more good than all the lecturing I had given me all my life."

As to the effect of the court experience as a whole, Steve said: "It was the best thing that ever happened to me. I wish it had happened a little sooner. The court did a lot better by giving me probation than if I had been fined and my father had paid it off, or if they had not given me a chance and had sent me to the house of correction."

The mother's opinion of the services of the probation officer did not agree with Steve's. She said, "The probation officer was a very nice lady. She came quite often and took an interest in Steve. She would sit for a long time and talk real nice to him, but it didn't do any good. Steve paid no attention to her. His father told him all those things, and he is a much better lecturer than that lady was. When she would leave Steve would die laughing and say, 'That is the bunk; she is paid to do all that talking.'" Mrs. Lozinsky's description of Steve's offense varied somewhat from the boy's statement. She said that one night after he came in very late his father gave him an unusually severe lecture, and the next day Steve left home. The family did not hear from him until the police telephoned that Steve was locked up. He had been caught in another State driving an automobile which he had stolen. Four other boys were with him, and they were all on their way to Hollywood.

The Lozinsky home is on the first floor of a rather new 2-family brick apartment building owned by the family. It is located in a desirable residential neighborhood of business people. The 6-room apartment is comfortably furnished and well kept. The living room is rather attractive, with pots of flowers in the bay windows, a piano, and some books. The house has only three bedrooms, which crowds the family of 11 members considerably.

Mr. Lozinsky is a business man making about $125 a week. Additional income includes $25 a week which Steve earns and $20 a week earned by the older sister, who is at home. The two children who are away from home support themselves. Six children are in school in grades ranging from the first to the eighth. The little boy of 4 is at home with the mother.

Mrs. Lozinsky is neat and young looking for her age. She is a high-school graduate. Mr. and Mrs. Lozinsky are very exacting parents. They make rules to which everyone in the household must conform or leave the house. Mrs. Lozinsky admits that she is strict with her children, and also that they all deceive her, and that she does not trust any of them. According to his wife, Mr. Lozinsky has a very hot temper and flares up suddenly, but he has no bad habits and provides well for the family. He is courteous and presents a

good appearance, but gives the impression of being determined and self-satisfied. His idea of discipline in the family is "lecturing," but Mrs. Lozinsky believes in an occasional thrashing. The relations between Mr. and Mrs. Lozinsky sometimes become strained. After their last quarrel they did not speak to each other for three months. Mrs. Lozinsky says, "Worse than having children who run away is to have a husband who will not speak to you." She ascribes many of the difficulties between parents and children to what she calls "false pride." Members of the family have close connections with the church in the neighborhood, and are interested in all its affairs. The girls belong to church clubs and attend their dances and parties frequently.

Steve describes his father and mother as extremely religious, autocratic, and out of sympathy with modern American life. They think their children should work all the time and need no recreation. "At home my folks have always beat me to make me obey. I guess I have been stubborn, but what gets me is that other boys and girls don't get the same kind of treatment that we do."

The oldest boy, Charles, chafed under the family discipline and finally ran away; for some time they did not know where he was, but later learned he was in the Navy. Charles returned home to live but again was unwilling to keep the hours his mother demanded, so she told him to pack his things and go to live his own life as he could not fit into the routine of the family. She felt that he was having a bad influence on Steve, encouraging him to stay out late. Charles left and is boarding with some friends. He comes home once in a while, but Mrs. Lozinsky says she does not want him to do this any more and she has decided "to cut him" the next time he comes to see the family. She feels that he has already succeeded in influencing Margaret to leave home. Margaret was so fond of reading that she did not scrub the kitchen floor twice a week as she was told, and she failed to clean the house as often as it should have been cleaned. She read so much that she neglected some of her studies and got very low grades in them. Mrs. Lozinsky, therefore, told her that she must go to work, that they would waste no more money sending her to school. Margaret, being only 15, could get no work except that of a maid in a private family. Mrs. Lozinsky felt that Margaret should give her her wages. The girl did this for a while but soon began to resent it. She returned home to live, but after her experience away was not willing to conform to the rules of the house. Mrs. Lozinsky admits that she beat her severely. She said in connection with this that she had beat all her children severely because she believes in "giving it to them good and plenty." After this Margaret left home, and Mrs. Lozinsky does not want her back. She and Charles board at the same place.

While Margaret was working in a private family her mother felt that she did not come home often enough and asked a private children's agency to see Margaret. The worker from that agency found the mother emotional and almost hysterical. The worker was impressed by the fact that the mother demanded and received implicit respect from all the children. She found the family most interesting and unusual. She also felt an undercurrent of unrest and dissatisfaction in the home, the source of which she did not discover, although she thought that it might be in the relationship of the father and mother. She found Margaret a very nice girl with no delinquent tendencies, who had merely become negligent in her home visits and who readily agreed that she should and would visit her mother oftener. Thereupon the contact of the agency with the family ceased.

Fred, 13 years old and in the eighth grade, has developed a different means of escape. His mother says he is a good boy in every way at home and at school, but he loves to wander. He runs away from home for days at a time. He then comes back, takes a severe thrashing, and soon runs off again. He told the children that the pain from the "licking" lasted only about half an hour, and that in exchange for it he had three whole days of freedom and pleasure. Upon one of his recent returns from such a trip Mrs. Lozinsky gave him what she admits was a terrible beating with a strap from the sewing-machine wheel. He cried out in such pain that the neighbors upstairs interferred. She refused to stop, and the neighbors called the police. She explained to the officers why she was whipping the child, and they told her to whip him whenever he ran away. Mrs. Lozinsky feels very triumphant over this.

The oldest daughter, Helen, is 18 and according to her mother "behaves fairly well, but has crazy fits about leaving home." Mrs. Lozinsky usually gets these notions out of her head by means of a sound thrashing with a strap. Helen is in high school until 3 in the afternoon. She then rides for almost an

hour on the street car to a telephone exchange where she acts as an operator until 10 at night. She has only one Sunday a month free from her telephone duties. Mrs. Lozinsky said that the girl did not need any time for recreation.

Steve, the boy included in this study, entered school when 6 years old. He had always been a bright pupil, had made good grades, and was ambitious to finish his high-school course when his school career came to a sudden end. Steve says that his father and his teacher "framed on him," and he got mad and gave up school. His mother's story is more detailed. Steve stayed out late one night, having a date with his "steady girl," to whom Mrs. Lozinsky objected. His father sat up for him. Steve saw him through the window and was afraid to come in, so he went around the back of the house and slipped in without his father's knowledge. His father fell asleep, and when he awoke it was 3 in the morning. He accused Steve of coming in at that hour, and a heated argument followed. The next day the father went to the school—a church high school—and asked the teacher's cooperation in giving Steve a severe lesson. Therefore, when Steve arrived, the instructor lectured him very sternly for staying out so late the night before and said he could not have a boy like him in his school; he would have to take his books and go home. The "lesson" did not work as expected. Steve took the professor at his word. He also took his books and left, refusing to return, although he lacked only a few months of graduating. The experience embittered Steve, and the father was too proud to give in. This occurred when Steve was 17, a few months before his court experience. He now attends school two nights each week, studying automobile mechanics. He expects to keep on studying subjects that will be of practical value.

When Steve first left school he became a driver for a department store, earning $14 a week. He regarded that as only a temporary occupation and changed when he had an opportunity to get into business. Mrs. Lozinsky says that she has been dissatisfied several times with Steve's positions and one she persuaded him to give up. After this he was out of work for a long time because he could not find a job that would please both him and his mother. For two and one-half years he has remained with the same company as a clerk. He is now earning $25 a week. Steve and his brother and sister who have left home have followed their father's occupation. Steve has a good attitude toward work and toward his employers, and seems to be successful.

Mrs. Lozinsky says that Steve never got into any serious trouble except the one time he was in court. He kept very late hours, however, and both his mother and his father were continually disciplining him for this. She disapproved of a boy with whom Steve formerly went, one of the boys who was involved in stealing the automobile. She thinks he has given up the girl to whom she objected. His mother does not know who Steve's friends are now, for he no longer confides in her. He goes out quite frequently, but she does not know where. He belongs to a national fraternal and charitable order and to another club. He has been interested in the piano and took lessons for a while, practicing diligently, but finally lost interest and stopped his lessons.

Steve told how he worked out a certain program enabling him to have a social life and still live at home. He goes to school two nights a week and tells his parents that he goes four nights. He goes out with boy friends the other two nights. He says, "I never belonged to a regular gang. Most boys who belong to those gangs are a tough bunch. I never drank, smoked, or anything like that, so I would not get on in a gang very well. I go with two nice boys who don't drink. We go to movies, and on Saturday nights I take my girl out. I also go to see her on Sunday evenings."

Steve says that up to the time of his court appearance he had never had any trouble except at home. He also says that arguments at home have been his only trouble since his court experience. He said that before he "got caught" he had taken out several cars and taken joy rides in them, but always brought them back. He has found out that to get away from home and into trouble just to spite his family or to be smart is only hurting himself. He never expects to get into court again.

To have been able to remain in his home under most trying circumstances and to have come through with the ability to keep himself straight are evidences that Steve is made of good stuff. He seems to have inherited his father's ability, and in addition is a very likeable person. His court experience seems to have made him realize the futility of certain means of expressing his revolt against home conditions. Probation for such a boy was apparently the correct procedure. No behavior problem exists at present. The boy's vocational prob-

lem is solved. His social situation is satisfactory, and if, as he grows older, he is able to work out his career without interference from home influences his life may be expected to be successful.

16. ELMER ANDREWS

Interview September 18, 1926.
Native white, mother native white. Father born in Sweden; in United States 34 years.
Present age, 19; age at time of offense, 18.
Boys' court hearing, July 7, 1925. Larceny of automobile. Held for grand jury July 12, 1925. Bail $2,000. Placed on probation by the criminal court October 9, 1925.
Lives at home.
Family: Father 60, mother 58. Sisters at home, 16, 13, 10, 5; brother 13. Eldest sister, married, living in own home.

Elmer is a healthy and honest-looking boy, tall and somewhat bold in appearance. He is talkative and seems energetic.

Elmer's story of the offense studied is as follows: "I was arrested on account of a stolen car. An Italian boy and I were down town. A closed car would not go as the owner was out of gas. We were to watch the car for him while he went for gas. The Italian boy found the car would run. We got in, and he said we would go around the block and pick the man up. Then he kept driving, got gas, and said he was going for a short ride. We drove out in the country and went to my uncle's farm, where I was to spend my vacation. He came back, got caught, and detectives came to my home. The folks wrote me, and I came back and gave up. I had no motive in the theft. I did not do it—only rode with him." Elmer was in the police station overnight and was then bailed out by his uncle. In addition to being placed on probation the boys were required to pay part of the damage to the car. Elmer says that the damage of $500 occurred after the other boy had left him at the farm. Elmer's father gave notes for $125, of which Elmer has paid $72 at the rate of $12 a month. As Elmer always gives all his weekly earnings to his family, however, it is his mother who is short in her usual money instead of the boy who committed the offense.

Elmer has been fortunate in the type of officer to whom he was assigned during his probation. His understanding of probation is that it is a device of the law to give a boy who gets into trouble a chance to go straight. The officer calls to see him every month, and Elmer goes to the probation office once a month and talks things over with the officer. He says this probation officer is one of the finest men he has ever known and is sure that his contact with him is beneficial; he can always depend upon him for good advice, and he thinks his trouble has been more than balanced by his acquaintance with the officer. This court experience "gave him the scare of his life" and has taught him his lesson—taught him how hard it makes things for him when he wants to get a job.

Just one other offense is recorded against Elmer, that of speeding, in April, 1925, when he was fined $5 and costs. Elmer, however, remembers several other experiences with the police. He says his first arrest was for fighting with school boys over a baseball game but that the police turned them loose after a few minutes. Another time he was arrested for speeding with his boss in the car. The boss fixed it up for him. Another time he was arrested for fighting back at a crazy man but was released almost immediately.

The Andrews family lives in a poor neighborhood of 1 and 2 story houses. The streets are dirty and littered with waste paper, and the buildings are old and out of repair. The rent is $33 a month for a 5-room apartment in a 2-story brick building. At the time of the visit the house was fairly clean although disorderly. It is not well furnished, having little beyond necessities except a phonograph and some goldfish. It has three bedrooms, which are dark and dingy. The boys sleep in the dining room on a mattress. At the time Elmer committed this offense the family lived two blocks away in an old tenement, over which the present quarters are a great improvement. Apparently the mother has difficulty in maintaining her large family on the family income. The family has always been self-supporting except in 1918 when the father was hurt in the course of his employment, and the charities gave food and fuel amounting to $9. The family is now in better economic condition than formerly. The father is a laborer earning $30 a week. Elmer is a laborer earning $20 a week. The oldest girl works as a clerk for $9 a week, having recently finished a 2-year business course. The next two children are in the first year of high school, one girl is in the fourth grade, and the youngest, always a sickly child, has not yet entered school.

The mother praises all her children but says the neighbors have acted ugly toward them. She gets books from the public library for Elmer to read when he wants them. The children, according to the mother, are rather shy but are sociable with their friends. The father seems easy going and fond of all the children. The mother is stormy at times but has the children's respect and obedience. The children apparently get along well although Elmer seems a little bossy with the girls.

Elmer entered school when he was 6 and left after he had completed the eighth grade and six months of high school because he could not dress as the other boys did. He went six months to a business college and then weekly to an evening school. If his family had been able, he would have liked to continue in school. He said: "I can see the need more every day. I know boys who went on through high school and are holding down good jobs, and those fellows aren't any more intelligent than me. They have just got the preparation and I haven't. If I ever get so I can I am going back to high school and take up arithmetic, algebra, bookkeeping, stenography, and typewriting, and get some good out of them." Elmer's mother says that he left high school because he had had to stay home on account of illness in the family and had failed in his studies. He has paid the initial cost of an evening course in a skilled trade and attends the school three nights a week when he can afford the $3.50 weekly fee.

When not quite 15 Elmer began work as a messenger at $10 a week. At the time of his offense he was working as a laborer at $30 a week. At present he is doing similar work but receives only $20 a week. He has had about 10 positions, leaving sometimes to get better wages and sometimes because of slack business. The only time that he has been discharged was at the time of this arrest for larceny. Elmer feels that his intellect is superior. He says that most of the fellows he works with are "dumb-bells." "Most of the employers don't care if you have to work your head off. I do what I am paid to do and no more. That old stuff of getting paid for what you do doesn't work. Promotions come by pull. I am soft-soaping my boss now, and I am going up as fast as he can push me along." Elmer's ambition is to be his "own boss, run his own business, and sit in an office."

Elmer's mother says that he formerly belonged to a club for which he played football. He dropped the club, which has a clubhouse, when they brought girls there and when the boys drank. As the club is better now he is planning to join again. He has a sweetheart who is a nice girl, and he takes her out twice a week. Elmer did not mention his troubles with the club but said: "I belong to a tennis club and play often. That is where I met the Italian boy (with whom he got into trouble). I don't belong to any gang. I don't want to be tied up to do what a bunch of thick-headed chumps want done. I think for myself." He doesn't care much for going to church. He reads public-library books, goes out with his girl, and frequently plays tennis in his leisure time.

As to his ability to get along with people he said: "I get on all right around home, but I got in arguments with my teachers sometimes and I had fights with some of the wise guys who tried to boss me around. I got in a fight with some gangsters once or twice; but they were cowards and would only fight in a gang and they were afraid I belonged to the ——— Street gang."

Elmer's difficulties probably come from an unwarranted belief in his own ability and his superiority to other people and to regulations. This characteristic of his may be exaggerated during this youthful period of his life, and if his energies are turned in the right direction he will probably be successful. It is fortunate that a boy of this type, who feels himself superior to almost everyone, had a probation officer who could win his admiration so thoroughly.

17. LOUIS ANGELO

Interview November 17, 1926.
Native white, parents born in Italy. Both in the United States 25 years.
Present age, 20; age at time of offense, 18.
Boys' court hearing, August 15, 1924. Larceny of automobile. Held for grand jury August 16, 1924. Bond $1,000. Sentenced by the criminal court on August 16 to one year in the reformatory and fined $1.
Lives at home.
Family: Father 44, mother 44, wife 15.

Of winning personality, intelligent in appearance, seeming to be open, frank, and straightforward, Louis makes an impression much better than

his performance warrants. His misconduct is not especially grave, but he is evidently quite incapable of keeping at any work.

Three offenses comprise Louis's court record. Of his first arrest he said: "I was never booked, just picked up for being out late, chunked around, and turned loose." Of the second (which is the first offense on the court record) he said: "They caught me taking some bundles from a platform. I had to give up all I had got, and besides they put me on probation. That was enough to learn me a lesson, but it didn't." Another arrest, which did not lead to a court appearance, Louis describes: "I was picked up on suspicion of burglary, and they beat me up trying to make me confess. They had nothing on me so they turned me loose without booking me." Of his second court appearance, which appears on the record as an error with no complaint filed, he said: "I was in an auto that had been taken from a garage, but they only stuck the boy who stole it and let me go." Of the offense included in the study he said: "The time they sent me to Pontiac I was the one who took the car. I had done it before and got away with it, but they caught me, Now I am done." Of his various detentions, Louis said: "I was taken to police stations five times. I never stayed in them over three days at a time. All of them I was in are nasty dens, and the cops just try to see how hard they can be." Louis says that after being held for the grand jury on the larceny charge he was in jail more than two months, although only one day's detention in jail is shown on the records in the court. He thinks the jail is not so bad as the police station because you can get out into the bull pen with other persons. "If you had money in jail you could get any kind of treatment, but a guy like me had to take everything." The criminal court reduced the charge against Louis to petty larceny and sentenced him to one year in the reformatory. Louis said: "I got some tired down there; no work, but school, school, school. That did show me that there is law and that there ain't nothing for a poor guy to do but keep the law. But talk about mean boys; I never heard of so much that was mean as they know down there. Most of them are low down as dogs." He feels, however, that the treatment he had at the court was probably beneficial. "There ain't no use of me being sore on the court. It was good for me in the long run. If it had not been for the court stopping me I suppose I would be a convict now."

Louis thinks that commitment to an institution is more effective in stopping a criminal career than probation. He was on probation for his first court offense. He said: "Before my year was up I got stuck in the reformatory. I had a good probation officer, but what good can any kind of an officer do you just talking to you, once a month? I was not more than out of his office until I forgot what he said."

In his mother's eyes Louis has always been a good boy and always will be. She is sure that he never has done anything wrong but has been falsely accused. She shares Louis's opinion with regard to probation; she said that the probation officer was no good, he didn't help Louis. He tried to find some jobs, but Louis could not get them. Louis reported to the probation office every month as required until he was sent to the reformatory. Four visits were made by the probation officer to his home. Louis was discharged at the expiration of his sentence on November 16, 1925. The parole office had no record of his whereabouts after that time. Apparently no attempt was made to keep in touch with him, as he has been at home and the family has not moved.

The Angelo family live on a short narrow street in a very poor Italian neighborhood with dirty streets and old houses. The inside of the house is a most agreeable contrast to the outside surroundings. Everything is spotless; the kitchen is immaculate, and the other rooms so orderly that they seem not to be lived in. The furniture shone as if it had just come from the factory. The curtains were stiff and white. Mrs. Angelo is a conscientious housekeeper. She is fond of needlework and has much embroidery around the house. Louis was married about seven months ago, and he and his wife live with his parents. His mother is delighted with his marriage and has great pride in the way she has fixed up their room for them. She is much pleased at having the young couple in her house. Louis's wife, who is very young, works in a factory, but Louis is unable to find a job.

Louis's father is an unskilled worker earning $30 a week. The rent for the house is $12 a month. The family income is not large, especially as Louis does not have steady employment.

Both the agent who interviewed the boy in connection with this study and the probation officer believed that his parents had been overindulgent. In spite of the poor economic condition of the family it has always been self-supporting except during a short interval about six years ago when the father deserted the family. At that time Mrs. Angelo received rations from the county agent for three months, and she received coal twice. She had been working in a factory earning $12 a week but was unable to work at that time because of sickness. She had also applied to a family-welfare agency but was given no help except reference to a dispensary.

Louis graduated from grammar school and finished one year of high school. He entered school at 6 and was only 14 when he stopped, having skipped one grade. Louis says that he does not care much for school. He knows that it would be of benefit but does not care enough about it to make the effort. He took bookkeeping in school but does not like that kind of work. His mother was very anxious for him to have more education. She went back to work so that he could go to high school and was heartbroken when he refused to continue.

Louis's first job was as a messenger boy at $8 a week. At the time of his court experience he was a special-delivery boy earning $15 a week. At the time the mother was interviewed he was not working, but two weeks later he was polishing window cases in a large department store. He lost this job in less than a week and was referred to another which he also immediately lost. He has no idea how many jobs he has had. He said: "Slack work gets me laid off, or they want too much work, or I don't know enough, or I get canned." Louis's attitude toward work is by no means encouraging. He is lazy and apparently not stable enough to hold a job when he gets one. He thinks that employers want too much work and that good jobs are obtained and retained by pull. He says that he has always contributed to the family whatever he did not need himself from his wages. He owes his father some money but does not feel that his father will require him to repay him.

In spite of his mother's seemingly absolute belief that Louis is a model boy Louis said: "I got into one trouble and then another when I was just beginning to get started to school. The older I got the meaner I got. I never did hatch up things to do by myself, but when I got with my crowd, all of us together got started and we never looked at the results if we got caught. I used to go with a gang, but now that I have married, I don't go with them any more. I spend my time at home with my folks." He says that since his court experience he has tried his best to stay out of trouble and that the only trouble he has had is in getting and keeping jobs.

The type of probation to which Louis was subjected was not sufficient to change his behavior. Whether or not constructive and intensive help during probation would have had any different effect is unknown. He has never had a mental examination. Evidently he was bright in school but his work history indicates some insufficiency or instability. For such a boy institutional treatment may have been an effective lesson. Apparently he was able to withstand the deteriorating influences in the institution and was much shocked by the vice he saw there. The net result of his court experiences, however, seems to have been to impress upon him the necessity for influence both in court and in work. The poor, he says, must stay within the law, the inference being that with money this is not necessary. This is certainly not a wholesome attitude.

18. CLEMENT DUNNE

Interview October 11, 1926.
Native white, parents born in Ireland. Father and mother in United States 32 years.
Present age, 21; age at time of offense, 19.
Boys' court hearing, August 30, 1924. Operating motor vehicle without owner's consent. Probation one year. Discharged from probation August 21, 1925, at expiration of term. Result "satisfactory."
Lives at home.
Family: Sister 29, brother 26, sister's husband. Away from home, brother 24; in home at offense but now away, father 59, mother 53.

Clement is of medium height and rather light in weight. He dresses with much care and in good taste. He is open and frank in his conversation and has an air of refinement.

The story of the offense told by Clement and his sister agree. Clement said: "I was with my sister, and we met a boy I knew. He said: 'Come take a

drive with me' and I did. I asked him if he were on an errand for his employer and he said he was. He often went on them, so I thought nothing of it. He said he had to go out to a small town and wanted some company. He picked up some other friends of ours, and we all went for a drive, thinking he was on a business errand. He violated the traffic rules in a small town, and they phoned ahead and when we got to the next town they stopped us. The chief brought us all back, and they found out the car belonged to this boy's employer. We were sent to Chicago and finally got before the court. I signed a waiver of jury trial, not knowing what it was. The judge would not listen to me; he would not give me or my brother-in-law a chance to speak." (Clement was defended by his brother-in-law, who is a lawyer.)

Clement stayed in the police station overnight, as his family did not know where he was until the next morning. Then his brother-in-law bailed him out. Clement said: "The police kicked me and were insulting in every way possible. They used every low-sounding name in the world in talking to me. They beat me with a piece of rubber, but what they did to me was just a trifle; they beat a negro boy almost senseless, trying to make him confess a robbery."

Clement considers the court experience the worst thing that could have happened to him. "I have never felt able to look at anybody since then. There was nothing good about it. It made me sour." His experience with probation has also left a bitter feeling. "I never needed probation; I had done nothing. They took my picture and fingerprints and everything, and they are in the detective bureau yet. They gave me a coarse, hard-boiled fellow for a probation officer, who wanted to keep me scared half to death." Apparently, probation was used as a club over this boy rather than as a means of readjustment. It is probable, however, that Clement did not cooperate in any way. Moreover, during his period of probation he left the city, staying in the East for three months, as his sister felt that he ought to get away after his experience. Evidently this departure was without the consent of the probation office, as Clement says that he received threatening letters during this time from the officer. The records at the probation office show that Clement did not report from October to April. Altogether he made four reports during his year's term, and the officer visited the home nine times. The sister stated that "probation officers are unintelligent human beings and should be employed in the stockyards rather than as advisers for boys who have gotten into trouble."

Clement's family had come to Chicago one year before his appearance in court. Soon after this experience his father and mother left Chicago to return East. At present Clement lives with his married sister and brother-in-law and an older brother. His father is a skilled interior workman. His older brother has the same occupation, making $60 a week. His sister keeps a dress shop, and her husband is a lawyer. The sister is in her shop all day and until 10 at night, so that Clement has little home life. Her husband and her two brothers sometimes go to motion pictures and to pool rooms together in the evening. The family has a good income, and the apartment is provided with all forms of home recreation. The neighborhood is a high-class residential center and in all respects a pleasant place in which to live. Clement says that after his court experience his sister and his family made him miserable by continually harping on his disgrace. He came to believe that he could never live down such an experience. He says that lately the attitude of his family has changed. At the present time it is evident that he is pampered by his sister, although she apparently decides everything for him and nags him continually. She is worried about him and realizes that he ought to have some steady occupation, but she has not provided any real discipline and does not understand how to help him.

Clement began school at 6 years of age and continued until he was 16. He had skipped two grades and had completed the third year of high year. He left school because he wanted to support himself. After leaving school he attended high school one summer and took a correspondence course with an art school. He does not seem to attach much value to regular school but attaches considerable significance to his commercial-art course. He said that he got along fine in school—that he found it easy and never had to study much but made pretty good grades.

The boy has had about six jobs. Some were merely temporary, and others he left for various reasons—once to get a better job, once because he was discharged on account of this offense, and once he left to come to Chicago.

His first occupation was as ticket boy at $60 a month. At the time of his offense he was a clerk at $25 a week. His attitude toward work is fair although he seems not to want to work very hard. He has helped in ward politics and is looking "for something" as a result of that. He has always had plenty of spending money, whether he worked or not, and does not realize the necessity of real work. He has never contributed to the family living expenses.

While in high school he played football but since then has taken no part in athletics. He goes to the motion pictures, to dances, plays pool, and drives around in a car with his brother and brother-in-law. He does not care much for church and does not belong to any club or to a gang. At the time of his offense he was going with rather undesirable boys, but since then has been more careful of his companions. He is very resentful because he lost his work through his court experience. He says that it has become impossible for him to get a job since then. In July, 1926, he swallowed 20 grains of bichloride of mercury tablets and for nine days was not expected to live. This was in a desperate moment, when his family's attitude and lack of understanding and the "hounding of the police" led him to make this attempt at suicide. His sister says he has been in bad physical condition ever since then as the poison affected his heart. She says that Clement was happy in his position at the time of his offense and had saved more than $300. He has a very nice girl friend, according to his sister, whom he takes out occasionally.

This boy's conduct is apparently quite inoffensive at present, but conditions around him are anything but satisfactory or favorable. Without occupation he can scarcely be expected to be happy, even if his leisure does not lead to delinquency. He is interested in commercial art and through this interest might find a congenial occupation. No effort seems to have been made by the sister or by his probation officer, however, to help him adjust himself vocationally. The attitude of his family should be entirely changed. The probation service neglected an excellent opportunity to use real probation methods with this boy and instead followed only routine procedure. Consequently, treatment which might have brought about real improvement in the situation has only added to the difficulties.

OTHER THEFT

Thirteen other offenses against property, all thefts of some kind, were studied. In this group are many unusually interesting histories. For example, John Miller, whose history is not given in detail, a shy and reserved boy of 20, on the suggestion of two older men padded the pay roll of the company which had employed him for 3 years, his mother and father for 18 or 20 years, and his maternal grandfather for almost half a century. He used the money to buy an expensive car. The case was finally settled out of court, and an entry of not guilty was made. The home conditions of the boy were good, though the parents were perhaps overstrict and the mother had always worked outside the home. The boy's school history indicates only a fair degree of intelligence and no intellectual ambitions. With reference to his court experience the boy said: "I have been so scared that I stay home all the time I am not at work, especially since it has taken all my money to pay up my debts. Now I can get out a little, but I am going to watch these fellows who have sly schemes for getting you into trouble." The court was more than fair to him, he thinks, and the experience "scared the meanness out of me and showed me that no matter how slick I am some one else is just as slick and will catch me if I do anything." Since his arrest he has worked day and night—often as much as 14 hours a day—in order to make restitution. He has had practically no recreation, lacks self-confidence, and has a gloomy outlook on life.

In marked contrast to John Miller is Leo Berman (case 20), an habitual delinquent in the opinion of the Institute for Juvenile Research, although in court but once. He had been pampered and shown a bad example by his extravagant mother, and was entirely uncooperative when efforts were made by outsiders to improve his attitude and conduct. Joe Zadako (case not given in detail), the do-nothing son of a hard-working and industrious mother, indifferent to everything and apparently subnormal mentally, admits that he committed a robbery. During probation he made eight reports and seven visits were made to his home; but no attempt was made to ascertain his mental condition or the cause of his industrial and social maladjustment, and probation seems to have had no effect upon him. Frank Borkowski (history not included in detail), accused of various thefts, has learned from his experience merely that it is possible to evade the consequences of illegal actions. He is following in the path of his bootlegging parents. James Struck (case 21), although handicapped by a crippled hand, is making good as a mechanic and making the best of an uncongenial home situation after a harrowing accident and long detention in the county jail. He thinks of probation as a kind of piloting system to steer boys from trouble spots and describes his probation officer as "a peach of a fellow." Sentence to the house of correction appears to have had a constructive effect upon Louis Latosiewicz (case 23), a boy from a good home who had been a truant, without the slightest interest in school, and had an unsatisfactory work record. Mark Segrand (case 22), in his own words was "straightened out before I got too bad," by his court and house of correction experience. His family had been known to 10 social agencies, and he had been described as a forlorn, ragged, undernourished child, who "couldn't dress like other children and got a bad taste for school."

As in the cases previously presented, the themes of broken homes, poverty, abuse by parents, lack of interest in school, gang life, and failure of social agencies materially to alter the conditions which, from early childhood, handicapped the boy, run through many of the histories.

The histories of 7 of the 13 cases in this group follow:

19. ANGELO GALLI

Interview December 27, 1926.
Native white, parents born in Italy. Both in the United States more than 45 years.
Present age, 18; age at time of offense, 17.
Boys' court hearing, December 7, 1925. Larceny. Discharged.
Lives at home.
Family: Father 77, mother 55, brother 16, sister 13. Brother 22 away; unknown number of half brothers and half sisters away from home. Mother works away from home.

Angelo is a slender boy of medium height, fairly neat and intelligent looking. When he was in the boys' court he was sent for examination to the psychopathic laboratory. He was found to have a mental age of 11, was classified as a high-grade moron plus dementia præcox katatonia, and was sent to the psychopathic hospital. He was classified as a mental defective, but the examiners felt that he could be released if someone took an interest in him. His brother's juvenile probation officer promised to do this, and Angelo was released.

This offense is Angelo's only appearance in the boys' court. He told the same story of his offense to the interviewer which he had told in court: "Our mother sent us out to buy some coal. My brother went back home. I thought I would pick up some coal on the railroad, and I did. The cars had lots of coal on them so I got some big lumps, and the policeman pinched me." He was discharged, but he had already been kept in the police station for two nights and

one day. He said: "They did not show me the goldfish or anything like it, for they had the goods on me and didn't need any confession from me. The station was not so dirty as I have always heard they are." Angelo says that he does not know that this experience made any difference to him except that it scared him for awhile.

Angelo was in the juvenile court on two different charges. In June, 1923, he was sent to the Chicago Parental School on a truancy petition. In March, 1925, he was charged with stealing an automobile tire and was sent to the Chicago and Cook County School. He stayed there two months, during which time his conduct was very good. He was released "with improvement" in September, 1925, as he had become 17 years of age. Angelo said that the parental school would be "all right if there was no school to attend." He also said, "The Cook County School is a good place. They treat you pretty fair over there."

The family had lived for several years in four rooms on the first floor, rear, of a 3-flat building which they own. The house is fairly clean, but dark and poorly furnished and pervaded by an odor of fermenting malt and grapes. The neighborhood is a very poor industrial center. The houses are old tenement buildings with cellar apartments. The streets are in disrepair, and the alleys are dirty. Mr. Galli is very old, has rheumatism, and is unable to work. He wears earrings and has a very foreign appearance. Angelo's mother, who is Mr. Galli's third wife, works in a factory, earning $15 a week. The 16-year-old son, Nick, makes $15 a week from a newspaper stand. In October, 1924, Nick, with two other boys, stole an automobile which collided with another car. He was brought to the juvenile court and placed on probation. Apparently the probation officer was of real help to Nick and to the family. Both Nick and Angelo had been problems at the public school they attended. They were truants and incorrigible. During his probation period Nick was kept at school and graduated from the eighth grade. He entered high school but remained only a few weeks. He had secured a news stand, and although his work was entirely between 4 and 7 p. m., he preferred to leave school. Nick was permanently released by the court "with improvement" October 16, 1925.

Angelo entered school when 7 and left when 14. He completed five grades, having repeated two. He said that he left because he had to work and also, "School ain't for me. I never liked school and never will go any more. I don't know any good it done me or anybody else." He went to work as a messenger boy at $8 a week and at the time of his offense was earning $10 a week at the same employment. At the time of the interview he was not working. When employed he gave all his wages to the family. His attitude toward employment is not promising. "I have had lots of jobs, but no good job, or I would still be with it. I am always looking for some work I like and that pays well, and yet I never have found it." He admits that he does not like hard work of any kind. He seems to lack ability to stay in any job for any length of time.

Angelo thinks that he has never had any more difficulty in getting along than other boys have. He said that he had had a few fights and had been on some "bumming" trips, but that was all except the offenses for which he had been in court. He goes to church seldom, goes to "movies" occasionally, and rides with his boy friends. He belongs to a small Italian gang. He would say very little about his manner of life outside his home. Angelo reports that he has been promiscuous in his sexual relations with girls and also admits homosexual perversions. His discharge by the boys' court was made with a view to further treatment because of his mental condition, but custodial care was not deemed necessary. The only constructive influence exerted by a social agency was that of the juvenile-court probation officer who was supervising his younger brother.

20. LEO BERMAN

Interview January 13, 1927.
Native white, mother native. Father born in Russia; in United States 26 years.
Present age, 20; age at time of offense, 17.
Boys' court hearing, February 29, 1924. Receiving stolen property, felony. Case continued four times. Discharged May 12, 1924. On the same date a misdemeanor charge, receiving stolen property, was preferred, and the boy was placed on probation for one year.
Lives at home.
Family: Father 44, mother 40, sister 21.

Leo is a handsome, well-built, well-dressed boy. In conversation, however, he is discourteous and unresponsive and seems stubborn, lazy, and careless.

He used extremely foul language and apparently was unable to talk for five minutes on any subject without becoming vulgar. He even spoke disrespectfully of his mother and sister. He seems to have no standard of morals regarding his home or social relations. Leo was examined in April, 1924, both at the Institute for Juvenile Research and at the psychopathic laboratory. At the institute his mental age was given as 13½ years and his intelligence quotient as 85, and he was classified as dull and backward with poor attention. The laboratory gave him a mental age of 12⅝ years, and classified him as a high-grade sociopath plus dementia præcox katatonia.

The offense included in the study is the only one that appears on Leo's record except for four subsequent charges of speeding. Leo himself said that he had had seven arrest slips for speeding. He refused to go into details concerning his offense, only saying to the interviewer: "The whole upshot was a lie. Lies after lies were told on me and the judge knew they were all lies; that is the reason he let me off on probation." He spent no time in the police station or jail, as his father put up security for his $1,000 bond. During the 10 weeks' continuance of the case Leo was examined in the psychopathic laboratory and reported according to the social-service cards as "not commitable." He was placed on probation for one year and costs and fines were suspended.

Leo was discharged from probation at the end of his year's term with a "satisfactory" result on the probation record. He said: "I did not mind probation, and that fellow was all right; but as far as getting good out of it is concerned, he didn't tell me anything I didn't already know and he didn't need to do anything for me." The record in the probation office shows that Leo reported every month but gives no other basis for considering the case satisfactory. The probation officer made six visits to the home. A representative of a private agency was asked by the court to assist the probation officer in supervision; but the worker, who attempted to do thorough and constructive work, was unable to obtain any cooperation from either Leo or his family.

From the records of agencies interested in the case a much more complete history of this offense is available. A lawyer from whom Leo and a friend of his, Chester, had taken a diamond brooch, asked the Institute for Juvenile Research to examine both the boys. Chester was a bell hop who had the keys to the lawyer's room in a hotel. He entered the room and took the brooch, a match case, and a whisky flask, which he gave to Leo, who sold the things for $200. Leo did not give Chester any of this money but purchased a car with it. A month later Chester took a ring valued at $2,500 from the home of a friend. This was given to Leo, who traded the ring for a second-hand car. This time Leo also got Chester a car, valued at $100.

Chester and Leo were interviewed separately by psychologists. Both were much confused in the stories they told. The examiners found that Leo, much more than Chester, was characteristically a repeating delinquent. Leo was uncooperative during the interview at the institute, very sullen, defiant, and suspicious. He constantly demanded to be shown where he was wrong and denied ever having had any trouble or having committed any other thefts. The examiner said that his most outstanding behavior reaction during the entire examination was a suspicious hostility and dishonesty. He assumed an air of injured innocence with flashes of bravado. His attitude toward his behavior and the situation in which he found himself was that of brazening it out.

The examiners at the institute concluded that Leo was of dull mentality but not definitely subnormal. His delinquency habits were already well established, and he was in a fair way to go further in the direction of a criminal career, giving no evidence that he would make any effort to counteract these tendencies. He had had sexual relations with girls on frequent occasions. The boy's mother was excitable and irritable. In trying to protect Leo she told many contradictory stories. Apparently she had allowed him always to do as he wished, with reference to school, recreation, and other matters, and had never been willing to discipline him in any way.

Although Leo's home is an attractive, well-furnished 4-room apartment in one of the best residential sections of Chicago, every social agency that has come in contact with the family because of the boy's delinquency has reported that the home life seems to be a bad influence. The father, said to be in the jewelry business in another city, is a man of no education, having begun work at the age of 8 years. The mother's time is occupied with lunch, matinee, and shopping engagements. Although the father was said to be earning between $75 and $100 a week at the time Leo was studied by the institute, the family appeared to be always in debt, and neighbors said that the family had moved

a short time before in order to avoid paying back rent. The mother appeared to have a defensive and frightened attitude. Leo's sister, a pretty girl of pleasing manners, has completed three years of high school and is a stenographer, earning $25 a week. She plays the piano and has some boy friends. The members of the family, especially the mother, enjoy driving in Leo's automobile.

Leo went to school from the time he was 7 years old until he was 17 or 18. He completed two years of high school and then left because he was tired of school. He then attended business college for a month. His mother said that Leo was in business with his father and that he was working steadily. From the boy himself it was learned that although he had worked with his father for a while, he had not been working for at least six months. He seems to have no ambition and no interest, and to feel that to work for anyone is a disgrace.

Leo would not talk of his companions or his recreation. He said: "Who I associate with is my own business, but they are first-class boys and girls." Then he made crude remarks about the girls he knew and his relations with them. His mother does not seem to make any attempt to provide him with wholesome recreation but bemoans the fact that he goes with wealthy boys who spend more money than they should.

The examiners at the institute concluded that if anything constructive was to be done with the boy it must be done from the outside and not through his home. Institutional care did not seem to offer what this boy needed. The strictest kind of probationary supervision over an extended period, with possible removal from home and parental control, might offer possibilities of improvement. Both routine probation and the constructive supervision attempted by an experienced worker in a social-service agency of high standing, however, failed to affect the situation materially, and the boy's problems appeared to be as far from solution at the end of the probationary period as at the beginning.

21. JAMES STRUCK

Interview September 23, 1926.
Native white, father native white. Mother born in Germany; dead.
Present age, 19; age at time of offense, 18.
Boys' court hearing, March 21, 1925. Larceny. On July 27, 1925, placed on probation one year and assessed costs, $6.
Lives at home.
Family: Father, grandmother 81, grandfather 86. Sister 18, married and living in her own home.

James is tall, stout, neat in appearance, intelligent, and easy to approach. One hand is so crippled that it might have been a vocational handicap had James allowed it to become one.

Two charges were made against James at almost the same time. The first appearance on the record was on March 5, 1925, when he was charged with manslaughter and held for the grand jury on April 6, 1925. The case was nol-prossed on June 17, 1925. The second was the larceny charge studied, when he was placed on probation for one year. James's statement is as follows: "The first time I was arrested when I had an auto accident. I ran over two children and killed one of them. I was in jail over three months because I could not make bond. After that we settled for $1,000, including costs and my lawyer's fee. The children ran in front of my car, and I could not stop in time to keep from killing them. While this case was hanging over waiting for investigation and before the grand jury found anything against me, I was arrested as an accessory before the fact of larceny of a gun from a restaurant. They found the gun in my car with my tools. Some crooks had broken in my garage and used my car and tools on several occasions, and they had done so the night before the police searched my garage. They had been caught and claimed to confess, and said that I was with them. That was their way of explaining how the gun was where it was. They were afraid of a charge for breaking into my garage, so they framed me."

At the time of the larceny charge James was taken to the station and kept overnight and then bailed out by his father and grandparents. He did not know how much the amount was, but before this case was settled he was placed in the county jail on the manslaughter case. He said he got as good treatment as he could expect in both places. "The police station was not so bad, but the jail was an awful hole." The probation record shows that James made four reports to the office and paid the costs. No home visits of the officer are recorded. Of probation he said: "My probation was a good thing for me. If I

had not had a probation officer to help me out when I was down and out I might have gone to the dogs. My probation officer is a peach of a fellow."

James says that he was in court one time by accident and the other time by mistake. Nevertheless he thinks that both the police and the judge did only what they were required to do, and he is not bitter over his treatment. He admits that he knew something of the frame-up in the larceny case; but he knew it would be better to keep quiet than to squeal on the fellows who were guilty, as they belonged to a mean gang and would make trouble for him. He understands that he was placed in suspicious circumstances. He said: "The law is made by people, and they can't make perfect laws, and I could not make bond. It is best that I did not, for I was so scared that I might have run away and got in more trouble and made it worse for myself."

The situation in James's home is unfortunate. His mother has been dead for 15 years, and his father is a cripple who has not worked regularly for many years. At the time of his offense James, his father, and his sister lived with the father's parents, who are good, religious Germans. The grandmother still keeps house for the family, and although she appears to a casual visitor to be intelligent and responsible, both James and his father say that her memory is failing and that her imagination and reasoning powers are not normal. This has been responsible for much trouble among the various members of the household. James and his father and sister evidently get on well, but the grandmother is suspicious of everything in connection with her two grandchildren. She said that her grandson was not working, but hung around a garage all hours of the day and night. James was visited at the garage, and it was found that he was working there during the day and frequently in the evening on overtime work, principally because he did not care to be in his own home until after his grandmother had gone to bed. His employer gave James excellent recommendations and corroborated the length of his working hours. The grandmother has probably distorted other things as well. She insists that her granddaughter, who was in school at the time of James's court experience and has since left the grandparents' home, is not married but is merely living with a man, although James and his father say that she is married. The grandparents also complain that James's father begs for money which he uses for drinking. James attended church services regularly and took much interest in church affairs, according to his grandmother, until he began what she terms his association with a gang of bad boys. The grandmother was able to impress all visitors, including the representative of the private agency sent by the court, with her kindliness and to make them believe her story. She seems heartbroken over the delinquency of her grandson and the shiftlessness of her son. But visitors who talked also to the father and boy away from the grandmother felt that the grandmother's condition was a great disadvantage to the boy.

The economic condition of the family is not good. The grandfather is unable to work. His only income is derived from the rent of the small apartment building in which the family occupies four rooms. James's manslaughter case cost him and his grandparents $1,000. This has all been paid off, and now James is helping the family to better their living conditions. The grandmother said that at the time of the inquest James was held for the grand jury on a $10,000 bond. The grandparents could not give security for so heavy a bond. They paid a lawyer $300, and an agreement was made that James was to settle for all expenses, amounting to about $700.

The family lives in a working-class neighborhood which is deteriorating from a good middle-class residential district owing to the invasion of industries and general disrepair.

James entered school when 6 years old and left when 16, having completed two years of high school. He attended night school for six months after that. James liked school and regrets that he did not have the opportunity to go on. His teachers wanted him to continue in school because he had made a good record, and they thought he should go to college and take up technical work of some kind. He says his school days were the pleasantest he has ever had. He liked mathematics and science and disliked history, geography, and grammar. He expects to go to evening school.

Upon leaving school James became a mechanic's helper at $20 a week. While in this work he was injured in a punch-press accident. He lost his little finger and his whole hand is somewhat crippled. His hospital bills were paid and he received some compensation. He has had about six jobs. At the time of his court experience he was a clerk in a large department store, earn-

ing $25 a week. He lost this job when arrested. After this he was a real-estate salesman, and he had other temporary work until he obtained his present job. He is now a mechanic in a garage, earning $35 a week. He likes his work, and his employer said: "Jim is the best man I have ever had here. He is quick, not lazy, never drunk, always on the job, ready to do overtime and help me out of a hole, and, above all, he is absolutely reliable." James said: "This is the best job I have ever had, and I want to keep it. My boss is all right and pays me for every minute of overtime work. He never raves around. If something is going wrong, he tells me and I straighten it out." With overtime James averages $10 a week over the regular wage of $35. At the time of his offense and at the present time he has used all of his wages for the family.

James said that he had never had any trouble except a little with his grandparents. He knows that they are old and that he owes them much. He says that his grandmother is childish and is losing her mind and this "grates on his nerves." This has been the situation for some time. As to his associates James said: "I don't belong to what the newspapers call a gang. I do run with a bunch of boys. Some of them are pretty tough, but most of them are just ordinary fellows like you see on the streets or at work." He likes baseball, football, swimming, and motion pictures, but does not care for dances. He said he had liked driving a car until he ran over the little children, but since then he would rather someone else would do the driving.

The officer to whom James was placed on probation apparently did much more for him than appears on the records, since James feels that his probation officer helped him out of his difficulty. The constructive help which a probation officer can give was just what he needed at the time of his court appearance. Whatever his real connection with the thieves who stole the gun it is evident that acquaintance with this sort of group was undesirable for him. He has been able to put himself in the right place vocationally, but socially he still has a problem. He lives in a neighborhood where there are gangs. The elderly people in his home make his home life difficult; and though he has his father's understanding, he can get very little real help from him.

22. MARK SEGRAND

Interview January 19, 1927.
Native white, father native white. Mother born in Austria; in United States 27 years.
Present age, 22; age at time of offense, 19.
Boys' court hearing, June 6, 1924. Larceny. Placed on probation for one year on same date. Discharged from probation, August 8, 1924, because of commitment to the house of correction.
Lives at home.
Family: Father 43, mother 42, sisters 20, 19, 8; brothers 11, 3. One sister and one brother dead. Mother worked.

Mark is tall and slender, dresses well, is quiet and noncommittal, slow in motion and, apparently, in thought.

When asked about his experience with police and courts, he said: "Well, if you don't count them times the police pinched me for running away from school I ain't been arrested but twice. The first time was when me and some boys tried a job on a house. I done it and got caught. They gave me probation, but I thought they was just bluffing so I didn't pay much attention to them." Only a week after his appearance in connection with this, the offense included in the study, he was again in court on a charge of contributing to the delinquency of a child, and on July 1 he was sentenced to a year in the house of correction, fined $25, and assessed costs. Mark continued his description of his difficulties: "Then in about a couple of weeks I got in the other scrape. We was on a party, and I got to hugging and kissing a girl and we was in a dark room by ourselves and the girl screamed out. Then I let her alone and went away. Her folks got the police after me, and when I got in court, they had me pictured like I was assaulting an angel against her will, when really I never done nothing but hug her too tight." In connection with the first case he was in the police station overnight and not in the jail. He thought that the police station was much worse than the jail, where he stayed, in connection with the second charge, from July 1 to August 1. "The bad thing about being kept in jail is that you are confined and can't see anybody but jailbirds." He was in the house of correction from August 1, 1924, until July 5, 1925. His conduct was good enough for him to be allowed time off for good behavior. He said of the Bridewell, "Of all the places I can imagine,

that is the worst dump. Before I would go back I would commit suicide. Gee! I wish I could forget the time I was there. I tell you it cured me from taking chances on the law; and any man it doesn't cure, can't be cured." As to the final effect of these experiences Mark said: "I used to be sore at the court and the judge and all the police, but I have kinder come to my senses now and I suppose the court done right by me and straightened me out before I got too bad."

The places in which the Segrand family have lived have never been satisfactory; the present one, although very undesirable, is an improvement over former abodes. In 1915 their house was described by the representative of a family-welfare agency as filthy. In 1919 the house in which they lived was reported to the department of health as unfit for human habitation. The place in which the family lived at the time of Mark's first appearance in the boys' court was described by the adult probation department investigator as "a horrible place to live." They now live in a rear flat on the second floor of a ramshackle 2-story frame building on a street which runs beside railroad tracks and is very dark, so that the girls are afraid to come home alone in the evening. Their flat, however, is light and airy, fairly clean, and fairly comfortably furnished. For recreation a piano, phonograph, cheap books, and magazines are provided. The mother and small boy looked very dirty, but the two older girls were attractively dressed and seemed bright, frank, and pleasant. The mother seems high-strung and sensitive but very fond of her children.

Mr. Segrand is earning $22 a week as a plasterer, and the older girls are telephone operators, each making $18 a week. At the time the home was visited Mark was not employed; but when he was seen two months later, he had been working for a month and was making $30 a week. The 11-year-old boy is in the third grade and the 8-year-old girl in the first. The girls are buying stock in the telephone company for which they pay $3 a week, and the elder is buying a piano on time. The members of the family attend church carnivals and entertainments, and the two older girls go often to parties and dances. They want to learn to play the piano and hope to take lessons soon. The 11-year-old boy has taken violin lessons but had to discontinue them on account of the expense. The mother has worked whenever possible until recently.

Mr. Segrand has been insane and in institutions intermittently for years. In 1915 he was in a State hospital for the insane for six months, his condition being diagnosed as manic-depressive insanity; in 1916 he was in the hospital practically the whole year; from 1920 to 1923 he was at home working, but in February, 1925, he was recommitted, this time with a diagnosis of dementia præcox. At the present time Mr. Segrand is again out of an institution and at home. He is fairly well, but becomes much disturbed if Mark's delinquencies are mentioned. When in an institution he was constantly making efforts to get out on the ground that he must support his wife and children. During these various absences of the father the mother often received a mother's pension through the juvenile court, and she also received this aid from October, 1917, to March, 1918, when the father was on parole at home. In October, 1918, the pension was granted again and was not discontinued until March, 1920. The mother worked in the stockyards at times. Part of the time the father's half brother paid the rent. The mother picked up coal from the railroad tracks. She was uncooperative with the probation officer, and was even called unfit to have the children. In 1919 the whole family of six were sleeping in two filthy beds in one room. The children were always ragged. A family-welfare agency was in touch with the family from 1915 to 1925. Little financial aid was given, but it was reported that the children were often undernourished. A worker for this society reported that Mr. Segrand had been a good provider and a good father during the periods when he was able to work. Ten agencies were registered at the social-service exchange as knowing the family.

As a young boy Mark was described by an agency visitor as delicate and undersized. He was said to have had a speech defect since he was 2 years old, following an attack of scarlet fever. In 1919, when he was examined in connection with an application for an employment certificate, he was decidedly underweight, undersize, and immature. His teeth were in bad condition, and his general glandular condition was poor. He was four years retarded in school. He left school in 1920 when 15 years old, having completed the fifth grade. In 1919 he had been reported from school as irregular in attendance, poor in schol-

arship, and fair in conduct. He had been absent more than half the month before the report, most of it inexcusable absence. He said that he had repeated three grades and that he left school to go to work to help his mother. At this time (1920) Mark was described as forlorn and ragged. He collected the county supplies for his mother. He was sent to a rest cottage for a few weeks after a tonsil operation and gained 12 pounds.

Mark worked first as a messenger, earning $10 a week. At the time of his offense he was working as a delivery boy at $15 a week. He had held three positions, his services had been satisfactory, and his record clear. He had left each time of his own free will. One place reported "Good boy, but slow on the trigger; not much pep; otherwise O. K." After his offense Mark worked in the steel mills, first at $25 a week and now at $30 a week. He himself said, "I quit most of my jobs bcause they didn't pay enough money. The last one I didn't quit, but just got let off because of slack work, and before I went back I got this job I have now." He had a very good attitude toward his work. He spoke of the necessity of getting along well with his coworkers, and said that the boss has "got to get results" to maintain his job, and that it does not pay to shift around from one job to another very often. He is content to remain in the steel mills.

The family are devoted to Mark. They hide his offenses and seem to believe in his innocence. The mother, however, said that a little punishment is good for a boy. She said that at the time of the offense Mark went with some very bad neighborhood boys, from whom they are trying now to have him break off. She asserted that Mark was innocent of the rape charge and that he just happened to enter the house where the boys and girls were.

Mark said that he has always got along well with everyone. "The biggest trouble I ever had was about going to school. I couldn't dress like the others, and I just got a bad taste for school. The boys I liked and who liked me all hated school so we just run away lots of times." He says that he does not belong to a gang but that he associates with two bunches of boys. The two bunches do not go together. He and his friends dance, go to motion pictures, and ride in the automobile of one of them. They go out with girls often, and on Saturday nights they sometimes roam around all night.

In the five or six months since Mark's release he has not got into much trouble. He said: "There ain't no use in me trying to tell you I have been a saint, for a man like you knows better, but I ain't been in no more stealing scrapes and I ain't going to be in any more. As for trouble with girls, I have been hanging out with a nice girl since then, and I am going to marry her." It is possible that Mark has felt a conflict between his two groups of friends, one an older group with an unfavorable influence upon him and the other a newer group, whom his mother and sisters are encouraging him to know because of their better influence. The boy's own interpretation of the treatment accorded him by the court is that by its severity it brought him up short.

23. LOUIS LATOSIEWICZ

Interview February 13, 1927.
Native white, parents born in Poland. Both in the United States 32 years.
Present age, 19; age at time of offense, 17.
Boys' court hearing, May 12, 1924. Larceny. Sentenced to 30 days in the house of correction and fined $1, June 18, 1924. Motion to vacate judgment sustained, July 2, 1924. Placed on probation for one year. Restitution of $28.25 ordered. Released from probation at expiration of term as satisfactory, July 1, 1925. Restitution made.
Lives at home.
Family: Father 55, mother 51, brothers 26, 23, 21. Two sisters died of tuberculosis. One brother, married, in own home.

Louis is fairly tall and is thin and pale. He is evasive and does not like to talk. He is neat in dress and looks fairly intelligent. Records of the psychopathic laboratory, however, show a mental age of 11, and classification as a high-grade moron plus dementia præcox katatonia. He was not considered committable to an institution for the feeble-minded.

Louis says that he has been arrested seven times. Only three arrests are shown on the police and court records. The offenses recorded begin with the offense of larceny included in the study, at which time it was said that Louis broke into a school and stole some pencils and two drums. The case was continued several times, and a warrant had to be issued. Five weeks after the arraignment Louis was sentenced to 30 days in the house of correction and fined $1, and was taken to the house of correction. Two weeks later a motion to

vacate the judgment was made and sustained, and on July 2, 1924, Louis was placed on probation for one year. He was ordered to make restitution of $28.25.

The probation record shows that Louis made 11 reports during his year's probation and that the home was visited by the officer twelve times. Louis paid the restitution required and was discharged at the end of the term with a satisfactory record. During his term of probation, however, Louis had been arrested and brought to court. On March 4, 1925, he was charged with having stolen a typewriter. He was fined $100 and costs, and on the same day a motion was made to vacate the judgment. The case was continued until May, when Louis was discharged. Three months after being discharged from probation, in October, Louis was charged with having stolen a battery. It was said that he had exchanged the battery for a gun and buried the gun. He was fined $100 and costs and sent to the house of correction to serve out the fine. Six weeks later he was released by order of the judge.

When asked about his various court experiences or offenses Louis said: "Go look them up on the records. I done all that they said I did and plenty more. There ain't no use of me trying to play good when I got a record as spotted as a rattlesnake's back. I am trying to give up the habit by working and keeping myself so busy and making all the money I need, so I won't be tempted. That is what I read was good for a person like me, and it has been working lately." Louis does not know how much time he has spent in police stations but says that it has been several weeks. "When a fellow's got a nice home like I have it's pretty tough to do time in a police station. I don't remember any I've been in that I can call unhealthy, but none of them have been very comfortable." Louis does not know the name of his probation officer but said that he was a fine man. However, he said that the officer did him no good except to advise him "not to steal and I already knew that." Of the house of correction he said: "That place is enough to make anybody go straight. Them guards don't care for nothing; they just as soon kill you as not. But that feed, it was awful!" As to the net effect of his court experiences Louis said: "I didn't like any of it, but any reasonable man would know I have been benefited from my court trips." He says he has got on better since his court experience than ever before. He is sure that with the lesson he learned by being sent to the Bridewell, and what he has read, and his work, he will be able to stay out of trouble.

Louis's family live in a new residential district of 1 and 2 story houses and apartments. The family bought one of these apartment houses three years ago. It is still mortgaged. They occupy five rooms, of which three are used as sleeping rooms. The home is well furnished, clean, and well taken care of. Furnishings include radio, phonograph, violin, books, magazines, and papers. The members of the family seem congenial. They are worried about the 21-year-old son, Mac, who has tuberculosis. One sister died from tuberculosis six months ago and another girl earlier. Mac and his family cooperate very well with the municipal clinic which he attends. The nurses report him intelligent and careful. The members of the family go to church regularly. The social connections of the boys are still in their old neighborhood on the west side of the city.

Mr. Latosiewicz works as a laborer and makes $20 to $30 a week. The oldest son at home is a cab driver, making $25 to $30 a week. Two of the sons, including the one who is ill, are not employed at present; the other boy is looking for work. The oldest brother, now married, is the only member of the family who was in the juvenile court. In 1918 a charge against him was continued generally. Six months later he was sent to St. Charles. A year after this commitment he was again in court, and his case was continued for two months when it was continued generally.

Louis repeated two grades in the parochial school which he attended. He entered school at 6 and left at 15, having completed the seventh grade. He seems not to have had the slightest interest in school. He says that school never did him any good, and he would not go any more. He was a truant and did not like his teachers nor any special subject.

When 15 Louis began to work as a wagon boy, earning $14 a week. At the time of the court appearance for the offense included in the study he was working on a wagon for a department store and earning $16 a week. At the present time he is a mechanic for a truck company. He has had no other positions and has held the last one for about 20 months. Louis said that he left his previous jobs in order to get work he liked better, but the reports to the probation department of the firms for which he worked show that he was discharged from these two earlier positions—from the first for throwing merchandise on the floor and

from the second for failure to work regularly. Apparently his present occupation is one which suits him better and in which he is making better progress. He says that he likes the work and the firm and that he expects to remain where he is. He gets all the salary that he can expect, and he feels that his employer will pay him more when he deserves it. Louis has never paid any definite amount toward the family expenses but has given whatever is needed, usually between $12 and $20 a week. He owns a car worth about $100.

Louis admits that when he was a small boy he began to steal small change from the family purse and that he stole other things. He said, "Sometimes, I don't know why, I just can't turn down a chance to take things."

Louis once belonged to a gang but does not belong since they have moved away from their old neighborhood. He often visits old friends there, however. He rides around a good deal in his car. He likes motion pictures and girls. He goes to dances often and to church and socials. He does not care for any form of athletics.

Except for the mental diagnosis of the psychopathic laboratory it would seem probable that Louis's experiences in court were those of an adolescent boy not yet adjusted. He is no longer connected with a gang, he has moved out of the less favorable neighborhood where he formerly lived, and the influence of his home appears to be good. He feels that he will not have any more such difficulties. It appears that probation was of benefit in giving him an opportunity under supervision to work out better behavior standards for himself. Possibly the sentences to the house of correction were of the benefit he considers them, especially as he stayed there such short times that the influences of jail associations had little opportunity to affect him.

24. PAUL SABRICH

Interview December 27, 1926.
Native white, father native white. Mother born in Austria; in United States 35 years.
Present age, 19; age at time of offense, 17.
Boys' court hearing, January 19, 1925. Larceny. Sentenced to six months in the house of correction, fined $1, and assessed $6.50 costs.
Lives at home.
Family: Father 46, mother 44, brothers 16, 15, 11, 3, sisters 5, 4. Mother usually works.

Paul is a rather delicate and pale boy, neither neat nor clean in his appearance. He talks little, seems dull and backward and unable to apprehend anything but a simple proposition.

Paul says that he was arrested once before his court appearance for being disorderly on the streets, but he was turned out after a night in the station without being booked. "They kept the fellow with me because he cussed the cops. That was what got us in Dutch." As to the offense studied he said: "The next time there was nothing to it except I went in the dairy in the morning and took some scraps of iron, and they arrested me for petty larceny and sent me to the house of correction." He was in the police station from Saturday morning until Monday morning and in jail another night. He seemed to have no particular reaction to any of his institutional experiences and only said of his 6-month sentence in the Bridewell, "I don't want any more of that kind of stuff; no, sir!"

Paul's family live in a fairly good workingman's locality. They are buying the 4-room house which they occupy from a nephew who is lenient with them if they can not make their payments. The family is in very poor circumstances and is helped occasionally by Mr. Sabrich's family. The house is fairly well furnished and clean, except the kitchen, which was rather dirty.

Many years ago Mr. Sabrich lost the use of one of his eyes. Since then he says that he not been able to work at inside jobs and has found it hard to get outside work. He works very irregularly. Mrs. Sabrich, when her husband is not working, does daywork at $4 a day. She has no difficulty in getting work. The 16-year-old boy works as a laborer, earning $13 a week. He is the only member of the family steadily employed. The 15-year-old boy is in the eighth grade and the 11-year-old boy in the fifth. Mr. Sabrich is a stout and husky-looking man. He was surly and rough with the children, and his wife seemed nervous and somewhat afraid of him. She sympathizes with Paul but was worried and disappointed in him. His father was disgusted and rather bitter, and said, "He got just what he needed. Before he got pinched he was a regular roughneck. Since then he had done pretty well." Neither of the parents seemed to know much about Paul's way of living.

Paul has no interest in school. He was in parochial school from the time he was 7 until he was 15, and completed only six years. He then went to continuation school for a short time and studied commercial arithmetic, but thinks it was a lot of work for nothing.

Paul first worked as a messenger boy at $7 a week. He began work at 14, before he had his working certificate. While working for a large department store he attended a continuation school, run by the store. He did not like the school and quit his job. After that he was away from home for three months and was found living in a bowling alley where he earned a few cents a day and was allowed to sleep. He has kept no job for long.

Paul's parents say that he has been a problem since he was 10 years of age. He was a truant and was sent to the Chicago Parental School, where his mother says he learned many bad tricks. For years he has been running away from home periodically and staying away for one or two months. The mother says that Paul is all right while at home but that some man or boy persuades him to go away. Paul says that he has never been around with any girls. Apparently he does not go with many boys at one time. When at home he reads cheap magazines.

Paul was first in the juvenile court on the charge of incorrigibility in 1918. The case was continued in order that a truancy petition might be filed, and he was sent to the parental school. Early in 1923 he was again charged with incorrigibility and sent to the Chicago and Cook County School. He was released to his father when 17 years of age. The juvenile-court record shows that his first charge was connected with holding up a man in a store. The second time he was in the juvenile court was after he had been having immoral relations with a 32-year-old man. The probation officer at this time said that the boy seemed to lack moral sense.

Although the juvenile-court record showed no bad conditions in Paul's home the family-welfare agency to which the mother applied in 1922, when her husband was not working, found that the father drank excessively, abused his family, and refused to work. These things combined, in their opinion, to make Paul's home conditions wretched. The father was especially abusive to Paul, and Paul resented having to turn over his money to the father who treated him so badly. Various agencies tried to have Mr. Sabrich ordered by the court to treat his family better, but Mrs. Sabrich was unwilling to testify against her husband. She told the court worker: "Anybody would be lucky if they had a husband as good as she had." At this time the father was only working to get money for drink. The mother was doing family washings and giving the money to him. They were without food for days at a time. The children had little clothing and were often kept home from school to take care of the baby, even though Mr. Sabrich was in the house. Seven agencies were registered at the social-service exchange as knowing this family.

The discord in Paul's home made him dissatisfied as a small boy. No mental examination was ever made, although it might shed light on the cause of his difficulty. His periods of residence in institutions have not been effective in changing his conduct.

25. ANTON BAUMRUK

Interview January 10, 1927.
Native white, parents born in Czechoslovakia. Father in United States 20 years. Mother dead; came to United States in 1906.
Present age, 19; age at time of offense, 17.
Boys' court hearing, February 5, 1925. Larceny. Committed to house of correction for six months, fined $25, and assessed $6.50 costs, February 17, 1925.
Rooming; at time of offense lived at home.
Family: Father 60, at home. Two brothers married and in own homes. Sister 17, brother 15, in foster homes. Mother worked before her death 12 years ago.

Anton is tall, thin, and pale. His chest is sunken, and he appears nervous. He is fairly neat and clean, but his clothes fit him badly. He is not talkative and does not seem to be very frank. He has been ill much of his life. He was examined at the psychopathic laboratory and rated 11⅝ years mentally, a low-grade sociopath plus dementia præcox katatonia.

Two offenses appear on Anton's court record. The first is the one included in this study, when with five juveniles Anton was lookout while the boys entered dry goods stores at night. It was at this time that he was examined at the psychopathic laboratory, but no report appears on the social-service record. For this offense he was sentenced on February 17, 1925, to six months in the house of correction. In September, 1925, he was charged with larceny. He

was first sentenced to one year in Pontiac Reformatory, but this was changed to probation. Anton said that he was arrested once before this, in July, 1923, when he had collected $70 that was due him and his father for work. He had been working for a year for his father, who had given him no money. His father had collected Anton's wages and then spent it himself in saloons, Anton said; so when he got a chance he collected the money which was due both him and his father, took it, and left home. His father had him brought to court. As to the offense studied Anton said: "I done just what they said. Them kids squawked, and I went to the Bridewell. It was good enough for me. I can't say a word on the deal I got. I just failed to put it over and had to pay." As to the last offense he said: "I thought I would try my old game of stealing. I had done it and not got caught, but again I got caught in the act. They first said a year in Pontiac, and then a year on probation. I was just lucky, and I got a good scare again." At the time of the offense studied he was in the police station overnight, and the last time for a week. "The stations are pretty bad holes, but what makes them so bad is the cops," he said. "They are big brutes." And of his experience in the Bridewell: "Everything goes on in that place. The food was just slop, the guards were hard, and life was miserable. * * * After getting time in the Bridewell I really know how to appreciate probation. It is meant to help a boy straighten himself out, and it sure did it for me. * * * Both the experiences have made a man out of me. I think the court did me lots of good, especially the boys' court that gave me probation, but the cops never did me any good."

At the time of the offense included in the study Anton lived with his father in a little 1-room shack back of a barber shop in the middle of a gang district. His father still lives there, but Anton has moved away on the advice of those who supervised him while he was on probation. Anton lives with another boy in a rooming house. Their room is dirty, dark, and disorderly. His recreation consists entirely in playing pool and going to motion pictures. He rarely sees members of his own family.

Anton's mother worked until just before her death from tuberculosis in 1915, at least part of the time in a laundry at night. Anton feels that his mother was made to work and that his father was worthless. Neighbors said that the father was brutal to the children. The father also had tuberculosis, however, and according to the agencies that knew the family at this time, seemed kind to his children. Because of his poor health he was never able really to provide for the children. During his childhood Anton was ill a good deal. At the time of his mother's death an agency representative found him to be a nice little fellow, who was forced to play in the streets without any supervision and whose companion, a little boy who lived in the same house, had a bad influence on him. The children often suffered for lack of food, and all were ill frequently. The father was never able to hire anyone to take care of them. The year after the mother's death the oldest boy was the sole support of the family. He worked in the daytime and went to school at night. The next oldest boy did the housework, including the washing. A few months later the father went to the country for his health, and the three youngest children were placed in an orphanage. In 1915 Anton, his youngest brother, and his sister were committed to schools for dependent children. Anton stayed in the school until June, 1922, when he was released to his father. The father never contributed to the support of the children while they were in institutions.

In 1911 an older brother was in the juvenile court as a truant and was committed to an orphanage and later to a school for dependent boys. He was released to his father in 1914. In 1916 he was accused by his father of running away and of thievery and was committed to St. Charles. He was released in 1918.

Anton repeated three grades during his school career and had completed the fifth when he was released from the institution at 14 years of age. He said: "Grammar school was of no use to me unless it was to learn me how to read and write. The manual training I got at the orphanage was what is good." He sees no reason for going to school any more.

When he first came out of the institution he was a messenger and earned $12 a week. At the time of the offense studied he was working as a mason and earned $30 a week. For the last two months he has been making $35 a week as a bricklayer when he works full time. The work, however, is not regular. He has been in this line of work for some time and expects to stay in it. The jobs are short, and changes are frequent; but Anton says that he has no trouble in getting work and that he has never been discharged. He says that he never

gets in an argument with his bosses or fellow workmen and that he always gives the best he can. He likes outdoor work and feels it is good for his health. He pays $12 a week for room and board. At the time of the offense studied he was paying $10. He has saved $100.

Anton tried to explain his conduct difficulties: "Well, I don't know how to say it, but somehow I just got a bad start and I have been into something or other ever since I was 10 years old. When I was a little kid I used to tell my father that he was no good and I would get beat, but I ain't changed my mind. He never would work much, and when he did he spent the money drinking and let my poor mother work herself into the grave. He plays sick when he is just lazy. He never kept us kids up. When agents come around he was always as nice as pie crust but when they got out of sight, he cussed us and beat us so I got to where I didn't care for nothing and I am just getting over it." Anton belongs to a gang but does not go with the members of it (except his roommate) as much as he used to because he has moved away from where they live. While Anton was on probation a representative of a private organization assisted in his supervision. Anton says that the probation officer just kept track to see if he was working or if he needed work, but that he reported regularly to "some religious man who was good to me. He give me good advice and got me to move away from the place where I belong to a gang."

Anton had no home during most of his childhood. When he was at home he had no supervision and, living in a gang neighborhood, became a member of a gang and got into trouble. He feels that he is a man now, and that with the help of the court he has grown out of his bad ways. He seems to have improved considerably. He is working regularly and has a satisfactory vocational adjustment. He has very little in his surroundings to help him to better conduct as he has no home life nor home influences, nor has he a group of satisfactory friends. If he succeeds it will be entirely from his own efforts. At the present time it seems that the treatment accorded Anton by the court has been successful and that giving him the opportunity of probation, especially with the supervision of a really interested "big brother," was the treatment that this boy needed.

SEX CRIMES AND OFFENSES

This group of 13 cases includes 7 rape charges, 3 cases of contributing to the delinquency of a child, 1 case each of indecent liberties, indecent exposure, and inmate of a disorderly house. The histories of 3 boys charged with rape, 1 charged with contributing to delinquency, and 1 charged with indecent liberties are included in this report. Of the 7 rape cases 4 were discharged by the boy's court, the grand jury, or the criminal court; 2 resulted in sentences of one year to a correctional institution; and the seventh case, involving a "borderland mental defective" negro boy with a long delinquency record, resulted in a sentence of 14 years to Pontiac Reformatory on a charge of "intent to rape." One of the three cases of contributing to the delinquency of a child resulted in a fine, one in a fine and 30 days in the house of correction, and the third in dismissal for want of prosecution. The other three cases resulted in discharge, sentence of one year to Pontiac Reformatory, and commitment to a State institution for the feeble-minded, respectively.

As in the other cases the histories differ greatly in the personality and environmental problems presented. Charles Keenan (history not given in detail), coming from a very good home, whose devoted parents have dealt with several instances of his misconduct with girls, has married, at the age of 20, a girl approved by his parents, who have the highest hopes that his misconduct has ceased permanently. Louis Leitner (case 26) was a boy with previous experience in a correctional institution, without a home in the city, whose only friends were former inmates of a correctional school. He fell in

with fast girls and was charged with rape. He also has married and claims to have given up his old associates. Sidney Chaitman (case 27), with poor heredity and poor home conditions, though there was plenty of money and misguided affection, a delinquent from early childhood, was discharged by the criminal court for the sex offense but later sentenced to the penitentiary after being charged with five robberies. Arthur Karnasov (history not given in detail), charged with being an inmate of a disorderly house and discharged, a nervous, unstable, excitable boy, still makes his chief occupation procuring customers for girls in a disorderly house. The need for an institution for mentally defective delinquents is well illustrated by the history of William Peck (case 28), who could not adjust himself to life in the community or to life in the school for the feeble-minded, and who will constitute a grave social problem when released from the reformatory. Earl Stevens (case 29) presents a pathetic picture of a kind, suggestible, mentally defective boy who needed careful supervision which was not available in the wretched home in which he lived. A boy who seems to have gotten into no more difficulties since the one studied is Albert Vaska (case 30), who was sentenced to 30 days in the house of correction. With the help of intelligent parents and as a result of wholesome athletic activities he appears to have changed his interests entirely. Two of these histories (cases 26 and 28) show the inadequate provision made by the State for the supervision of boys on parole from institutions.

26. LOUIS LEITNER

Interview December 15, 1926.
Native white, parents born in Austria. Father dead.
Present age, 19; age at time of offense, 18.
Boys' court hearing, July 16, 1925. Rape. Held for grand jury on $10,000 bail. Committed to jail. No bill, August 22, 1925.
Lives in own home; at time of offense, rooming.
Family: Mother, sister 14, brother 7.

Louis is an intelligent-looking boy, neat in appearance and not very talkative.

Institutional records show that Louis was sent from his home in a small town to the St. Charles School for Boys in July, 1923, on a charge of burglary. He had a good record there and was paroled in December, 1924, to his mother. The record also shows that while on parole he left home and was taken to another city by a parole agent, where he was provided with a place to stay and with work; that he left this without notice and went to Chicago, where he was arrested but not held. After this the parole officer lost track of him, and he was discharged from parole in October, 1925. Louis admits two experiences with the police in Chicago previous to the one studied, which did not lead to the filing of charges against him. Once he was arrested for larceny but was let off for lack of evidence, although Louis admits that he had committed the offense. The second time he was arrested for being in the park after closing hours. He says: "I was with a girl, and we were loving up too much to suit the cop."

Of the offense studied Louis said: "The last time I got arrested it was because of a girl they charged me with raping. I knew of at least half a dozen men she had been staying all night with at one time or another." He was in jail from August 3 to September 11. The court investigation bears out to a considerable extent Louis's statement of the case. The 15-year-old complainant did not resist his advances, as she claimed he intended to marry her. She lived in a dirty basement flat, and her reputation was bad. Police had been called to the house, and the family had been asked to vacate by the owner. The girl and the mother drank with men who came to the house at night. The mother admitted that the girl had had intercourse with two other men.

Little is known of Louis's home in the small town from which he came. At the time of his offense he had been in Chicago for two months and had roomed at the house of a boy whom he met at St. Charles School. He says that he paid $10 a week for room and board, but the court record states that nothing had been paid up to the time of his offense. The neighborhood was extremely poor.

Soon after leaving jail Louis met a girl whom he married. They have a 2-room apartment for which they pay $30 a month. Louis says that they have as yet no facilities for recreation at home but that he spends all his spare time with his wife. At Louis's request his present home was not visited. "We have a nice little flat in a good neighborhood. I don't want anyone coming around, stirring up my past history, so I will not tell where I live." He is working as a clerk at $25 a week. His wife is also a clerk and earns $20 a week. Louis says he goes to church with his wife, and his recreation consists of visiting her people and going to the motion pictures.

Louis entered school when 6 years old and finished high school. When sent to St. Charles he again attended school. He thinks that little good came of his high-school work and that he could have done as well if he had never gone to school; that if his people had put him to work and let him have his own money, it would have made a man of him. He would not do any kind of school work now. However, in speaking of his own home, he said: "My folks gave me a high-school education and a chance in life. I did not make good at home, so I broke away. They don't care for me any more."

Louis's first work was after he came out of St. Charles, when he did office work for $15 a week. At the time of his offense he was earning $20 a week at similar work. He has had five or six jobs. One he left in order to get more money, another he lost because of stealing, and another he lost when he was sent to jail. His present position he has had about five months. He has a fair attitude toward work. "I don't have such a hard time finding work or keeping it. I don't get jobs that pay a lot, but I always get on. My wife and me make a good living." He likes office work and expects to do it always. He says that he has no trouble with the boys at his office.

As to his own behavior Louis says that he ran away from home several times and stole constantly. "I got started bad as a little chap. I was born mean, so they told me. I got in trouble about taking things that belonged to others several times. My father was dead, and I would not mind my mother and uncles, so I kept getting in deeper until I went out to St. Charles. When I first come to Chicago I kept company with a bad bunch of boys that I knew in St. Charles. That company made me worse. Now I have changed my crowd, moved away from the old station, and live close to my wife's people, and they are nice folks, like my people. I have been married six months, and all my trouble has stopped since then." His wife apparently does not know of his former difficulties.

As to his court experiences he said: "Jail was bad on me. If I had raped some innocent girl, I would not have minded it; but being so mad I was nasty with the guards, and having no money I got no favors at all. I got awful treatment." He insisted that he did not know of any parole officer to whom he was assigned after he left the correctional school.

According to this boy's testimony his institutional experience did him more harm than good, and this has been practically the only treatment accorded him by the courts. It is possible that the good influence of his wife, combined with the memories of his own family and their good qualities, may effect a change in his conduct.

27. SIDNEY CHAITMAN

Interview December 31, 1926.
Native white, parents born in Russia. Father in the United States 30 years, mother 20 years.
Present age, 19; age at time of offense, 17.
Boys' court hearing, August 15, 1924. Rape. Held for grand jury September 20, 1924, $2,000 bail. Discharged as not guilty by the criminal court on June 5, 1925.
Interviewed in penitentiary; at the time of offense living in foster home.
Family: Foster mother (aunt) 46, foster father (uncle) 47. Father 40 deserting, mother 40 in State hospital for the insane. Brother died at 11 months.

A representative of a social agency having long acquaintance with this boy described him early in the year of the offense included in the study as "an ultra sheik, wearing broad, flat bulldog-toed tan oxfords, wide trousers of light color, dark heavy cloth form-fitting overcoat with flap pockets and foreign labels, silk handkerchief in pocket, a flaring black felt hat on one ear, and an extra fancy cigarette holder on his small finger." At a trial for robbery which occurred after the offense included in this study Sidney achieved a newspaper paragraph because he was brought to court "from the county jail neatly clad in golf costume" and was "sentenced in plus fours." The agent with whom

he talked at the end of the year in the penitentiary was impressed with his intelligent appearance, though his record shows him to have been diagnosed as only of low average intelligence by the Institute for Juvenile Research, and as a high-grade sociopath by the psychopathic laboratory. He was very nervous and talkative but did not want to talk of anything but himself, the injustice done him, the wrongs others had perpetrated upon him, and his own innocence and ability. He was inconsistent in all his stories, and when shown inconsistencies, he became angry and denied his earlier statements.

Sidney's story of the offense studied is as follows: "A family close to us had a little girl, and she stayed out all night and claimed somebody attacked her. A bunch of cops who I had showed up on another case picked me up, and the kid said I took her out and raped her. The family tried to squeeze money out of my aunt, and my lawyer told that to the jury and I came out free. I was not guilty; never saw the little girl before." Sidney's aunt also insists that he was entirely innocent of this charge and thinks that the parents of the child were only after some of her money, as they came to her and asked for $2,000. According to the information obtained for the State's attorney (which gives the girl's statement of the case) Sidney persuaded the 11-year-old girl to go in a car with him alone at 9.30 in the evening to show him the location of a certain street. He raped her after threatening to kill her if she did not submit. The girl's mother said that her daughter was put out of the car about 4.30 a. m. and some neighborhood boys who were out looking for her brought her home unconscious.

The case was in the boy's court from August 15 to September 20, 1924, when Sidney was held for the grand jury with bail set at $2,000. The criminal-court bond was set at $3,000, and after a few days in jail Sidney was released on bond secured by his aunt. The case was not disposed of until almost 10 months after its inception. Sidney was found not guilty and discharged. According to a social agency in touch with the family at this time the case was transferred from the criminal to the juvenile court, but this is not apparent on the records of either court.

Sidney's age is not definitely established. He is known by the name of the uncle with whom he has lived. Sometimes his father's name, Karlin, appears on the records as an alias. His relatives say that he was born in a hospital for the insane in New York State, to which his mother had been committed before his birth. The records of this hospital show that a child was born to Flossie and Samuel Karlin, January 5, 1911. If this is Sidney's birthdate, he was only 15 at the time of the interview in connection with this study. At the juvenile court and at the boys' court, he gave his birth date as July 4, 1907, to a private agency as July 4, 1908, and to the State's attorney as September 16, 1908. Any of these latter dates would make him 17 or 18 at the time of the interview. Because of this conflict and lack of authentic information as to Sidney's exact age, complications have risen in regard to jurisdiction of the various courts.

At the time of Sidney's birth his father deserted his insane wife. He was said to have been a gambler and sexually promiscuous. He was suspected of being tuberculous. Sidney's mother has been in several hospitals for the insane; and after having been cared for by her brother in Chicago, she was committed to an Illinois State hospital in 1922 with a diagnosis of hebephrenic dementia præcox. When very young Sidney was adopted by his mother's sister, with whom he has lived nearly all the time since. When he was 10 or 11 years old he became unmanageable, and his aunt placed him in an orphange in New York City, where the family was living at that time. He ran away after four months. He was brought before the Children's Court of New York on a charge of stealing several decks of cards which he attempted to sell, and was sent to a school for delinquents. In January, 1923, he was paroled to his aunt, who had moved to Chicago. Several times his mother's brother took Sidney to live at his home, where Sidney received strict discipline from his uncle and gave no trouble to outsiders. He proved too difficult to keep in a family with other children. In 1923 the children in this family were interested students in grade school, high school, and college, and Sidney's school career benefited from this association. However, when his uncle found that Sidney was having a bad influence on the other children he refused to keep him any longer and returned him to his aunt, Mrs. Chaitman.

Although the Chaitman family is fairly well to do they live in a most undesirable neighborhood. They own a store and have sufficient investments to insure a comfortable income. They live in four rooms fairly well furnished.

The uncle and aunt enjoy the life of a district of this kind; and although urged to move to a better neighborhood on Sidney's account, the aunt declines, saying that "residential districts are so desolate." The family apparently has no other social life than that connected with the store. In New York the family lived in a similar neighborhood in an extremely congested district made up of old and filthy tenements and small places of business. Here Sidney was brought into contact with bad companions and became familiar with the gangsters of the neighborhood.

Mrs. Chaitman was devoted to Sidney and showered much affection upon him. Her attitude was described by an agency representative as "more sentimental than motherly." She is an invalid, having suffered a paralytic stroke, and has absolutely no control over him. In spite of her physical condition she was elaborately dressed and bedecked with diamonds and other jewelry. She protects Sidney in any way that occurs to her, by misrepresentation or by glossing over his delinquency. She has promised to give him a large sum of money when he reaches the age of 20 years.

Sidney had in his home everything he wanted in the way of amusement but was very unappreciative. He drove his aunt's car and had a radio set which cost $80. He was induced by a social agency to join several clubs. He was not particularly fond of athletics. Although he did not belong to a gang his companions for years were bad. He liked to go with girls and went with one girl steadily for two years before his commitment to the penitentiary. He liked motion pictures and motoring. The family frequently took him on trips to health resorts.

Early in 1923 Sidney said that he had formed many interesting associations in his new Chicago neighborhood, with boys of Italian and Irish nationalities, but his aunt said that his new friends did not appear to be the select citizens of the neighborhood, and later, it was reported that Sidney had no friends. He said, "I never needed to have a lot of pet friends to keep me going. I don't have to have support if I get in a fight; I have always taken care of myself. Lots of the gang members I have known are good sports, and I like them. They know a lot, but most of them are cowards. I like good shows, and I like dancing. I have lots of girl friends, and I show them a good time." Considerable race prejudice existed in the neighborhood, and once he was beaten by a gang of Italian boys because he was a Jew. This made a deep impression on him and resulted in an intense hatred for Christian boys.

When a small boy in New York Sidney used to steal from his uncle, who was in the habit of keeping his money, after closing the store, under the mattress. Over a period of several years, he stole an aggregate of possibly $1,000 in sums of $1 to $20, depending on what bill was uppermost in the pack. On his arrival in Chicago after his release from the New York institution he presented a serious behavior problem. He was spiteful, capricious, inconsiderate of others, and often unreasonable in his demands. He evaded one's eyes while conversing, was very restless, and bit his finger nails. He paid little attention to the emotional outbursts of his aunt, who complained constantly to the agency about Sidney's conduct.

In March, 1923, Sidney was examined at the Institute for Juvenile Research at the request of his school-teacher, who complained that he giggled and showed off and was otherwise troublesome. He was found to be 20 pounds underweight but otherwise had no serious physical trouble. His sexual development had scarcely begun. His chronological age was 14 years, 8 months; his mental age, 13 years, 4 months; and his intelligence quotient, 91. He was described as of adequate intelligence, low average, with marked physical and mental immaturity. His general reactions and responses were considered not unlike those of an average boy passing through adolescence. A year later he was again examined at the institute, this time because of charges of delinquency in the juvenile court. His intelligence quotient was found to be 90, which was considered "adequate intelligence equipment." The report states: "The boy's mental ability is sufficiently great to allow him to make logical decisions and discriminations. Sidney volunteered much information regarding his present difficulties. He is most emphatic in his denial of wrongdoing, but his very eagerness to divert attention from his own misconduct leads him into contradictions and unreliabilities. There is very much to indicate the lack of appreciation of the rights of others, or an understanding of the necessity of recognizing authority. For a long time the boy has been 'getting by' and his failure to profit by the opportunities offered him is more marked, inasmuch as there have been resources and desires to back this boy up." As his aunt had

means she was advised to send him to a small, carefully selected, rigidly disciplined military school. If this were not possible, consideration of a State or county institution was advised. For a year a social agency endeavored to persuade Mrs. Chaitman to act on this advice and send Sidney to a military school, but she refused.

Sidney was examined by the psychopathic laboratory in June, 1924. He was found to have a mental age of 12⅔ and was diagnosed as a high-grade sociopath plus dementia præcox katatonia. In February, 1926, he was again sent to the laboratory for examination, but nothing was added to the former diagnosis.

In the interview with Sidney by the representative of the Children's Bureau it was evident that he had assembled considerable legal information, particularly about criminal law. His intelligence seemed to be showy rather than deep, however, and he appeared at first to know a great deal more than he really did. He admitted that he had had sexual experience constantly from the time he was quite young, much of it in perverted forms. He also insisted that he has never had any trouble arising from his misbehavior but that all his trouble is due now and always has been due to persecution. He was first the victim of jealous cousins, later the victim of jealous boys in his community, and still later, when he was charged with rape, the victim of a policeman whom he had showed up. He says that ever since he tripped the police up and proved that they gave him the third degree, they have hounded him everywhere he has gone.

Sidney apparently entered school in 1912 and left in 1923. He repeated one grade, which he says was due to a change from one school to another. He finished the eighth grade and left while in the first year of high school. Sidney's reaction to school is as follows: "School is just for dumb-bells who can't learn without a boss. I know more than most any high-school graduate, and I went to high school less than a month. How did I learn it? By experience and by reading what I want to and, let me tell you, school doesn't help anybody make money. All it is is a time killer." Several teachers reported that his conduct was poor and that he did very little studying in school, although his work was excellent except in arithmetic.

Sidney's first job was as a messenger boy. He says he received $12 a week. He overcharged the customers in collecting to such an extent that he lost the job, although Sidney explained during the interview that he quit because it was no job for anyone with brains. He was later employed by a bank, at which occupation his aunt proudly states he was not accused of any dishonesty. However, he was not considered efficient. He was also discovered to be a diphtheria carrier and had to stop work until this condition was cured. He helped his uncle occasionally in his store, but even his uncle does not like to have him there, as he can not trust him. At the time of the offense studied he was driving his aunt's car, for which she paid him $10 a week, and had a great deal of leisure. His opinion of work is not much more favorable than his opinion of school: "I wouldn't work for any person very long. A man who slaves and makes money for another is a fool; he can just as well work for himself, and that is the only way I am ever going to work."

The record of Sidney's court experiences since coming to Chicago is a long one. At the time of the first juvenile-court appearance he was accused of stealing an automobile battery and a car, for which he was sent to the Chicago and Cook County School in March, 1923. He ran away several times but was returned in June. Shortly after this he again ran away and did not return. He was granted permanent release from the school in August, 1925, "with improvement." In May, 1924, he was in the boys' court charged with speeding. This case was continued, and because of his nonappearance a warrant was issued. His next offense was the charge of rape in the boys' court on August 15, 1924. While out on bail furnished by his aunt he got into further difficulties. In October he was in court for speeding and was fined $25 and costs. Three charges of automobile stealing were brought against Sidney between April, 1925, and the end of the year. On two of these occasions he was held for the grand jury on bonds of $5,000, but the case was dismissed for want of prosecution. The third time it was said that he had the car six hours and had a 16-year-old girl with him. This case was held for the grand jury, but the disposition is not known. In February, 1926, he was in court on a charge of carrying a concealed weapon and was fined $100. In June of that year he was in court on a charge of disorderly conduct. Leave to file charges was denied, and the case was discharged. A week later he

was brought to court on five charges of robbery. The specific charges were: (1) Holding up a woman in a dry-goods store in the daytime, threatening her with a dagger; (2) holding up a doctor on the street at night, using a gun; (3) a similar robbery; (4) holding up the owner of a car in the car and taking the car; and (5) stealing an automobile and keeping it for two hours. He was held on bonds of $10,000 on each charge. The criminal court found him guilty on several counts and sentenced him to the penitentiary for 3 to 20 years, the sentences to run concurrently.

When asked during the interview in the penitentiary about his court experiences he mentioned the one in which he was charged with speeding and one in which he was charged with stealing an automobile. "A car was taken from a garage behind our house, and I was accused. The cops took me up and beat me until I confessed to keep from getting killed. Then on the trial I was too sharp for them, and my lawyer got them tangled up and the judge discharged me. I was not guilty of the car charge. I knew who got the car, but I would not squawk. Had my lawyer not been sharp I might have served somebody else's sentence." Of the final charge he said: "This last time I was charged with robbery, but I never did a thing like that in my life. They got my confession by beating me up. When the witnesses saw me they all told about the same yarn. 'Yes, he pushed me up in a dark alley and took my money, and while he had me in the dark alley I took a good look at him.' That was all the evidence they had. I am innocent, and my incarceration is illegal and unjust and against the law, for I have read every law on my case." After denying the various charges he later admitted part of them, particularly the robberies and the rape; later he again retracted his statements.

Sidney has lived in an institution for dependent children, has been committed to two different institutions for delinquents, and has been seven times in the county jail. Of the jail he said: "It is just a dirty hog pen full of bums, and it was no place for me. The police stations and the detective bureaus are nothing but old-time beating dens. They beat me from morning until night." His conduct in the penitentiary has been very poor. He is resentful, complaining that he is not accustomed to living under conditions as they exist in Joliet, and that he will not put up with it much longer. He says that if he can't get out he will kill himself, that he will not obey regulations down there, and that he doesn't care what happens; that he is disgusted with life, and what time he has to spend he would just as soon stay in the penitentiary. During the entire interview he went on in this fashion, contradicting himself frequently. He also said that the court was unjust to him. He believes that the court is unfair because it believes the policemen, and no one else has a chance.

Sidney entered the penitentiary under a plea of guilty of robbery. If he earns all the good time possible he will be eligible for consideration for parole in January, 1929. However, his conduct does not make it likely that he can be considered at this date. He was in solitary confinement at the time of one of the visits made by the agent of the bureau to the penitentiary. Sidney's aunt has been trying to have him released from custody. With the discovery that very possibly Sidney was only 15 years of age instead of 17, as he claimed to be when sentenced to the penitentiary, efforts have been made by State authorities to have him released. With such a record it is very probable that a release, unless very carefully safeguarded, would only mean an opportunity to commit further delinquencies. On the other hand, detention in a penal institution is reacting in anything but a desirable way on this stubborn and egotistical boy. His greatest misfortune, next to his heredity, has been his lack of proper guardianship. Lacking a home with his parents, he fell into the hands of relatives interested in him and anxious for his welfare, but absolutely incapable of giving him the sort of home and training that he needed.

28. WILLIAM PECK

Interview October 22, 1926.
Native black, parents native black.
Present age, 20; age at time of offense, 18.
Boys' court hearing, March 26, 1925. Rape. Continued three times. Discharged for want of prosecution, April 15, 1925. Another charge brought March 28, 1925, intent to rape. Held for grand jury April 21, 1925. Bond $1,000. Sentenced to Pontiac Reformatory for 14 years by criminal court, August 20, 1925.
Interviewed at reformatory; at time of offense lived at home.
Family: Father 51, mother 48, sister 22. Married and in own homes, brothers 30, 29, sister 25.

William is a rather light-skinned negro, fairly talkative and frank, but seemingly not much interested in anything. He is apparently not bright enough to

get along in the world at large and is too bright to stay in an institution for the feeble-minded, where he says "they are nearly all dumb-bells." He was examined by the psychopathic laboratory while in the boys' court, given a mental age of 11⅕ years, and classified as a high-grade moron plus dementia præcox hebephrenia. At the school for the feeble-minded he was diagnosed in 1924 as "a borderland simple mental defective, a delinquent who would probably always be criminalistic." A penal institution was recommended. At the reformatory his average intelligence is given according to the Army Alpha examination as C–61 and his mental age 13 to 15. William says of himself that he was born for trouble—"if he told of all the difficulties that he has been in he would have to describe every day of his life."

In regard to the offense studied he said: "This rape case is a lie. The way it happened was like this: I have been knowing this girl for a long time. She said she was going out with me, and I went to get her and found another fellow lying up with her. I gave her a beating up, and she told the police I raped her." William's mother has investigated the case in an effort to get her son out of the reformatory and says that the girl has a bad reputation.

William was in jail three months awaiting disposition of this case. He said: "I have been in police stations so many times that I know the names of the rats that pick up the crumbs in the bull pens. All of them look alike to me. They are just pens and that is all. I have been in about every place they can put me but Joliet, and I guess I might as well sign up for a cell there when I come out of here. The police have got it in for me, and I will land there, I guess. I don't see any difference between the house of correction and this place; neither one ain't no good for a fellow. St. Charles is the best place I have been and Lincoln (the institution for the feeble-minded) is the worst, for in Lincoln they're nearly all dumb-bells that you have to stay with. I guess I will try to stay out of pens now, but it won't be any use."

He says of the police: "Some of them beat me up and some didn't, but they all told lies to the judges. I have been arrested and kept locked up for three or four days without being booked." His only objection to the reformatory is that he has to stay in his cell and that he would like to do more work. He would rather have been dealt with in the boys' court at the time of his last offense than in the criminal court, as "you get off with less in the boys' court." William's sentence to the reformatory is a definite sentence of 14 years. He will be eligible for consideration for parole when he has served one-third of his sentence. His conduct so far has been good.

William lived with his mother, father, and sister in three rooms on the first floor of a 2-story and basement brick building which the family owns. The house is in a row of similar houses in one of the most desirable negro residential districts. The Peck family have lived in this house for 17 years, and have many friends in the neighborhood. The family formerly occupied the entire house, but now that most of the children are away they rent the three rooms in the basement, and the oldest son lives in the four rooms on the second floor with his wife and two children. The house is somewhat dark, as the only light is from the front and the back, but it is well furnished and very clean. They have a piano, phonograph, and books. The father is a railroad porter and is therefore on the road most of the time.

The daughter at home graduated from high school and will finish normal school in February. The mother spends most of her time with her married daughter, who has a 16-room house in a poor neighborhood. The daughter's house is very well furnished, and indications are that it is not a reputable place. The mother says that no members of the family except William have court or police records, but she has given bond in the morals court several times. She did not explain for whom she had done this. The married daughter gave an automobile to the mother, which she uses to drive down to see William every two weeks. William indicates that his family has petted him and overlooked his faults, as he said: "I never had to work unless I wanted to. I always got all I needed to keep me going."

William entered school when he was 7 years old and left when either 16 or 17 years old, in 1922 or 1923. He had completed only five grades and had repeated four grades. In the reformatory he has been placed in the third grade. While in school he was a truant. "I never went to school often enough to know what it was like after I was about 12 until I got down here (Pontiac)," he said. "School down here is just like everywhere else. It is just a lot of reading and numbering and the like which ain't no good to anybody unless they are going

to be a big lawyer or a school-teacher like my sister or something like that. I don't know enough to ever be anything like that, so I don't like school."

When he first went to work he was a helper in his brother's shop on part-time work and with no regular wages. He tried meat handling in the stockyards, where he earned $18 a week, but left because it was too cold in the cooler. At the time of the offense studied he was a hotel porter at $20 a week. He was discharged from the hotel when he lost time because he was in court. He is quite indifferent to work, but says he will do some kind of hotel work when he gets out, as it is less hard and dirty than other jobs.

William's delinquency record is a long one. In 1919 he was in the juvenile court on a charge of breaking into a pool room and stealing money and goods. This case was dismissed and a truant petition filed, and William was sent to the Chicago Parental School in December, 1919. In 1921 he stole a bicycle and was sent by the juvenile court to the Chicago and Cook County School. In three weeks he was back and had broken into a flat and stolen jewelry, money, and clothing. William was committed to the St. Charles School for Boys in September, after various continuances. He ran away from this institution five times. In 1923 his municipal-court appearances, seven of which appear on the records of the police and the courts, began. In July he was found with a gun, charged with disorderly conduct, and discharged. In September he was in court because of the larceny of a watch. The charge was dismissed, and he was committed to the State school for the feeble-minded. He escaped from that institution, and the next month he was back in the boys' court charged with carrying concealed weapons, as he had been caught trying to sell a gun. He was returned to the State school. He again escaped and in December was in court on a burglary charge. Again he was returned to the school for the feeble-minded and was not in court for nearly six months. In June, 1924, he was charged with the burglary of a grocery store and again returned to the State school. He again ran away, and in August he was charged with larceny, having stolen a bicycle. This time he was sentenced to six months in the house of correction. Soon after serving this sentence he was in court on the offense studied. William reports other delinquencies. He told an officer at the school for the feeble-minded that he had been arrested twenty-five times. During the interview in connection with this study he said that he was arrested eight times after his juvenile-court experiences. His story of these offenses is: "Once I was just out late and had a gun. Another time I stole a gun. Next time I was trying to sell a gun that belonged to another boy. Once a Jew accused me of breaking in his store, but I didn't. Once I broke in the flat next door and took some rings and the like and $5. Yes, I broke in a store once with another boy; and I stole a bicycle once and then I done the same thing later." After he left St. Charles he was on parole to a negro. He says his only contact with this man was once as he was coming out of a pool room, when the man saw him and told him to stay away from such places.

"I can't remember the first time I run away from home and had the folks looking all over for me," William said. "Then when I got big enough to go to school my sure-enough trouble started." He states that he belongs to a gang but would not commit himself as to any of the gang's activities, saying that the boys who belonged to it are just like other boys—"some are bad like me and some never get in trouble." The trouble that he got into was not with the boys in this gang, and he does not think that the gang had any effect upon his conduct. He says that he is getting along in the reformatory just the same as he got along on the outside, so far as his relations with boys are concerned. The reformatory has too many boys like him for the school to have any effect in changing him. He says that the boys carry on the same practices of homosexual and other vice "that they do in all other places."

According to his mother William did not belong to a gang but only went with a bunch of nice boys who sometimes got into mischief. She says that William has always been unlucky about getting into trouble and getting caught by the police. She spoke of contact with the social-service department of the boys' court and said that one negro worker there made all the trouble that she could for William, but that another negro worker was very helpful. When William was first in the boys' court the parents felt that something must be the matter with him and requested a mental examination. When given a choice between commitment to the house of correction and the State school for the feeble-minded, the mother requested that he be sent to the school,

feeling that he could never live down the house of correction record. She charges gross abuse of the boy by attendants at the school for the feeble-minded; she dreads the boy's being sent back to this institution but has no complaint of his treatment in other institutions.

William could not walk until 6 years old. At that time he had an operation to straighten his legs and arms. He was found to be a diphtheria carrier in 1919 and again in 1921.

During the time of William's connection with the juvenile court the records show little contact with his home and no mental examination. His lack of capacity in school and in work was clearly demonstrated. Apparently the boy is incapable of satisfactory adjustment in the community. His intelligence, though limited, is high enough to make it difficult to keep him in an institution for the feeble-minded, and such an institution is not equipped to deal with a person so definitely delinquent. In penal institutions he can be kept only for a term of years, after which he is again at large.

29. EARL STEVENS

Interview October 22, 1926.
Native white, parents native white.
Present age, 18; age at time of offense, 17.
Boys' court hearing, September 14, 1925. Indecent liberties. Held for grand jury, October 7, 1925. Bail $5,000. Not secured. Sentenced in criminal court to Pontiac for one year, January 18, 1926.
Interviewed at reformatory; at time of offense lived at home.
Family: Father 50; mother died one week before arrest; sisters 21, 20, 15; brothers 13, 10, 6, 4. Two brothers older than the children at home are married and live in their own homes. Three children are dead.

Fairly tall, very slight, pale, delicate, and lisping, Earl impresses one much as a child would. His reactions, too, are childish. He was sent to the psychopathic laboratory for examination before being held for the grand jury by the boys' court, but no record of this is found on the laboratory records. At the reformatory his mental age was given as 10 years (when about 18, chronologically) and his intelligence quotient as 62. One leg is crippled from osteomyelitis.

The only connection Earl has had with courts was the offense studied. When interviewed in connection with this study he said: "It's all a lie. Them girls are bad little brats, and they just had it in for me because my mother had died and they just got me in trouble when I did not have anything to do with them. They told a pack of lies in court." He said that every boy in the neighborhood knew these girls were bad; that the boys took them into alleys and other places and had relations with them often; that he never has, but he had caught them and they were mad at him for catching them. The representative of the State's attorney's office found that the girls involved in this case were a menace to the neighborhood. Earl was in the police station over night. The case was brought to the boys' court on September 14, 1925, and continued twice. On October 7 Earl was held for the grand jury with bail set at $5,000, and committed to jail for want of bail. He stayed in jail until January, 1926, when he was sentenced to Pontiac Reformatory for a year ($1 fine and no costs), the sentence to run concurrently with a similar sentence for contributing to the delinquency of a child. His time was reduced by good behavior, and he was discharged from the reformatory in December, 1926.

Earl feels that this reformatory sentence is "all wrong" and is bitter about it. He said that there was not enough work and that he does not like school, and that he will do his best to stay out of "all such places. This place can't do any boy any good. If I want to learn meanness it is easy to do, for there are plenty here who know every mean trick in the world." Of his experience in general he says, "My court trip ain't done me any good. Court and jail and all that stuff won't never do anybody any good."

The investigator for the social-service secretary of the State's attorney's office found that Earl's home conditions were very bad. Principally on this account the secretary felt that an institutional sentence would be better for Earl than a return to the home where he had no supervision nor incentive. The mother had been an invalid for more than two years and had been in the hospital for two months before her death in September, 1925, from a tumor of the brain. The youngest child is crippled from rickets, and the 6 and 10 year old boys are underweight. During his mother's illness Earl stayed at home and took care of her. When she was no longer in the home he did the

housework. His father was employed at night and slept at home during the day. The older girls worked and the younger children were in school.

The family lives on a street only one block long, which has very few houses. Water stands in large holes in the pavement, and tall weeds grow in the middle of the street. The houses are desolate and bleak looking. The Stevens house of five rooms, owned by the family, is scarcely more than a shack. Great cracks in the thin walls let in the cold. Two rooms are used as bedrooms. The yard is damp and soggy. The house is almost barren of furniture. The front room is furnished with an old dilapidated piano, a worn-out phonograph, and two ragged and dirty overstuffed chairs. The odor of the place is stifling. The oldest daughter now stays at home to look after the family. The 20-year-old daughter has married during the past year. The father works from 11 at night to 7 in the morning and sleeps in the daytime. He earns $46 a week, but pays something each week on a debt contracted by the oldest son, and the amount left is barely enough for the needs of the family. No one else at home works. Earl said, "There are so many of us that we have to sit on top of one another." He found the institution clean in comparison. "Things ain't as clean at home as they are here; but here there ain't much to do but clean up, and there at home there's a bunch of children to look after." In spite of crowding and dirt the brothers and sisters "get on fine and never fuss." The members of the family appear to have no recreation and no social activities.

The oldest son is said to work with his father-in-law, who makes "moonshine." He contracted a debt on furniture of $500, for which his father is responsible and is paying gradually, although the furniture has disappeared to pay other bills of the son. None of the family has been in court.

Earl did not begin school until he was 9 years old, and he left when 14, having completed five grades. In Pontiac he was placed in the third grade after his mental examination. When he left school to help his father he was a truck helper and earned $20 a week. When the employer had no more need for a helper Earl did not find another job but helped at home. Earl talks a great deal about working as soon as he is released from the reformatory, and says that his old employer will employ him if he ever needs a helper. He wants to drive trucks or cabs. His sister said that he had a job waiting for him as soon as he got out.

Earl had a good reputation in his neighborhood. He was never seen out unless with his younger brothers and sisters and was more of a mother to them than the older sisters were. He said he had never belonged to a gang, nor had many pals, but stayed with his brothers and sisters most of the time. The only form of recreation he mentioned was motion pictures—"funny ones like Charlie Chaplin." He admits intimate relations with various girls who have been around his home (though not with the complainants).

Although he is subnormal mentally Earl's conduct would probably not be much of a problem if he were in the right environment. He is kind and probably could be controlled easily. He has gone back to the same poor conditions, however, from which court attachés thought they were rescuing him. The only improvement is that his oldest sister is now staying at home. The presence of an older person at home during his leisure time and a job to occupy him the major part of the day may do much to prevent a recurrence of his former behavior.

30. ALBERT VASKA

Interview November 12, 1926.
Native white, parents native white.
Present age, 19; age at time of offense, 18.
Boys' court hearing, June 19, 1925. Contributing to the delinquency of a child. Sentenced to 30 days in house of correction. Fined $1 and $6.50 costs. Sentence served and fine paid July 18, 1925.
Lives at home.
Family: Father 43, mother 45.

Handsome, neat, and well dressed, Albert is frank, though a little backward in conversation. He is of medium height and fairly heavy.

Albert's first court appearance was the result of being picked up for parking at night in a car without light with several boys and girls. Disorderly conduct was charged, and the case was dismissed for want of prosecution. At the time he was charged with contributing to the delinquency of a child, a charge of rape was brought but was dismissed, and Albert was sentenced to 30 days in the house of correction and fined $1 and costs on the less seri-

ous charge. His mother says that Albert was doing nothing when arrested. But Albert said, "I went with a girl and I knew she was wild, and I got into trouble with her and they stuck me because she was only 14." He stayed in the police station overnight and was bailed out for $500 by his father and a friend of the family. He did not spend any time in jail in this instance. He said: "A police station is no place for me. I have been there twice. It's all right for bums who ain't got any better, but no good for a boy who has a home like mine. It sure was a nasty dump." He thinks that the judge probably gave him too hard punishment and that he might have been given probation. He has known much worse tricks to bring only probation, but he is glad he got no more than a month in the Bridewell. A sentence of that length taught him a lesson, but was not long enough to get him used to being in the Bridewell. He says: "That Bridewell is an awful hole. The people in it do everything under the sun that is low and mean. The guards are awful, and what they give you to eat would ruin a dog's stomach. It nearly fixed me." Albert worked in the clay pit while there. He thinks that perhaps, after all, the short time in the Bridewell was good for him instead of probation and that the judge was fair. The court experience made him wake up and he has since changed his conduct.

The family lives in a dilapidated 5-room cottage, for which the rent is only $8 a month. The house faces on a fairly wide, unpaved, and dirty alley and connects with two shanties which face on a street. Mrs. Vaska takes care of the three buildings on the lot for the landlord, and this service is considered part payment for rent. The neighborhood is an old foreign settlement which has degenerated into one of the worst districts of the city. Although the neighborhood is so bad that Mrs. Vaska is afraid to go home alone at night, and therefore never goes out alone, the parents are satisfied because this is the district they have always known. Both Mr. and Mrs. Vaska are of Czechoslovakian parentage and were born a few blocks from their present home. They went to school together and are well known in the neighborhood. They know all the local politicians. The mother is a rather intelligent woman, very proud of her boy, of his good looks, and of his athletic ability. A very fine fellowship exists between Albert and his father. The father shows genuine interest in his boy and the mother great devotion to him, and Albert responds with respect. Mr. Vaska is a laborer, earning $35 a week.

Although in poor repair, the home is clean. It has a pleasant living room furnished with plush furniture. A player piano has recently been bought to keep Albert at home evenings. There are also books and magazines.

Albert attended kindergarten when 5 years old and entered grade school at 6. He repeated three grades and had completed six when he left school in 1922 at 15 years of age in order to help his father, who was not earning much. He had very little interest in school and seems not to have been very capable intellectually. He went to continuation school for a time and says he got no more out of that kind of school than any other. He found school hard and has found work easy. Upon leaving school he became a checker at $13 a week. He was not working at the time of his offense. Last summer Albert secured a job as a life guard in a near-by park at $25 a week. At present he is working again as a checker and earns $18 a week. He has had four positions and left each one, hunting better wages. He does not know of any particular kind of work in which he is interested, and says any kind at which he can make money suits him. He is evidently neither lazy nor hard to get on with in his employment, and though a little care free and with no particular vocational interest is a fair worker. He pays no definite amount to his family for room and board. He has a small savings account.

Albert goes to church and associates with boys of the parish. With his friends (boys and girls), one of whom is his "girl friend," he goes to dances and to motion pictures. In the summer they go to the park and swim. Although he lives in one of the worst gang neighborhoods he does not belong to a regular gang. Mrs. Vaska says that Albert has two boy pals and a "steady girl" who is a very nice home girl. She says that he plays pool several evenings a week; that he plays ball, reads newspapers, particularly the jokes, plays the player piano, and is an expert swimmer and diver. He has won a medal for performing the "flame dive." He has also had an automobile which he has used a good deal.

In 1921 it was discovered that Albert had glandular tuberculosis; but although the nurse from the dispensary visited him often he could not be persuaded to take any treatment.

The commitment to a penal institution may have taught this boy a needed lesson, but more important in his case is good home influence. He is fortunate in conditions within his home, although the neighborhood is a poor one.

LIQUOR-LAW VIOLATIONS

Six boys included in the intensive study were charged with violations of liquor laws. The histories of two of these boys are given in detail. In four of the six cases of this sort which were studied the charge was the manufacture, sale, and possession of intoxicating liquor; two boys were discharged, one was discharged after informal supervision, and the fourth was placed on probation. A boy charged with operating a still was discharged, and another charged with possession of intoxicating liquor was placed on probation. The charges against four of the boys apparently resulted merely from the buying of "moonshine" on a single occasion. These boys did not appear to be habitual drinkers, and, except for vocational maladjustment in one case, they did not appear to present special problems. Frank Zwierzchowski (case 32) has had a thoroughly unsatisfactory career. His appearance in court was the result of an unhappy family situation. He was placed on probation, but no improvement has taken place in his parents' domestic troubles, his own living conditions, or his habits.

31. PETER RECHER

Interview November 2, 1926.
Native white, father and mother born in Switzerland. Both have been in United States 23 years.
Present age, 21; age at time of offense, 19.
Boys' court hearing, July 2, 1925. Possession of intoxicating liquor. One continuance. On July 17, 1925, placed on probation for one year and assessed costs ($6). Discharged from probation as "satisfactory" after nine months, April 4, 1926.
Lives at home.
Family: Father, mother, sister 12, brother 6.

Pleasant and frank but shy in manner, Peter seems to lack initiative, to take life easily, and to be somewhat shiftless. He is slight, of medium height.

The only record against this boy is a court appearance after his arrest by the police, who found him and two other boys of his age with a bottle of wine in their possession. Peter says they bought it in a place which was being watched. One boy "squealed," and the bootlegger was arrested also. The boys were kept in the police station overnight, having been arrested about 9.30 in the evening, and were not allowed to communicate with their families until the next morning. As this was a holiday and banks were closed the family had some difficulty in raising the amount required for bail ($4,000), but finally a friend of the family put up a real-estate bond and Peter was released before the second night. Peter says the station was about as good as a station can be, but it was no place for a decent fellow. He feels that it was not exactly fair that he should have been given a year's probation for buying a bottle of wine, as on the same day the same sentence was given to another fellow who had stolen a car and who already had a record for stealing. He says that probation did him no good, that it made him feel like a criminal to receive the same punishment that a thief got, and that his probation officer was a mighty nice man and wanted to help him but could do nothing. "The folks here at home told me every day and have done so all my life everything that he did." His mother also says that probation had no effect on Peter. The probation office records six reports made to the officer by Peter and only one visit to the house by the officer.

Evidently Peter's father and mother have given him good moral precepts but little discipline, and he has had little experience with the hard knocks of the world. The parents are very much worried now because he is "crazy" about dancing and does not work. He has never contributed anything to the family living expenses and has never worked steadily, although he left school five years ago against the advice of his family after finishing the seventh grade. His aunt paid his tuition in business college, but he stopped after six weeks. She is still willing to help him in this way. However, he never liked school, found it hard, and repeated three grades, though this was when the family moved from a small town, where he had been in the third grade, to Chicago where he was

put in the first. His vision is poor. He has seen an oculist and will have glasses soon. He has been no more successful at work than at school, keeping jobs only a short time and, according to his mother, looking for an easy job with good pay.

In leisure-time activities Peter is popular with his friends, though he goes with boys less since he has become interested in dancing. He has a girl who is also a good dancer. She is a nice girl, his mother says, and comes to the house often, but she is interested only in dancing and is not bothered by Peter's lack of ambition and steady qualities. Peter's only ambition is to be a dancing champion. In this ambition he receives no sympathy and a good deal of discouragement from his family. They find him, however, always happy, sweet, care free, and full of mischief.

Mr. Recher is an expert workman, making $45 a week. Peter's sister is now in the eighth grade at 14 years of age, and the 7-year-old brother is in the second grade. The neighborhood in which the family lives is very good. They pay $60 a month rent for their five-room brick bungalow. The grounds include a well-kept front lawn, and flower beds and fruit trees in the back yard. The house is large enough for entertaining and young people come in for social affairs. The living room is cozy with a fireplace, piano, phonograph, easy chairs, a lounge, and good pictures. The house is clean and orderly. The children go to Sunday school in a church in which their parents are interested, although they do not belong.

So far as is indicated by the record in the probation office and the statements of members of the family and the boy, probation was of little good to Peter. He evidently needed little correction of definite misconduct. A real need existed, however, for inculcation of purpose and for vocational help. This boy with his many excellent qualities undirected and totally unadjusted vocationally would seem to have been an excellent subject for a constructive and intensive type of probation.

32. FRANK ZWIERZCHOWSKI

Interview November 1, 1926.
Native white, parents born in Poland. Father in the United States 30 years, mother 25 years.
Present age, 21; age at time of offense, 17.
Boys' court hearing, January 29, 1923. Manufacturing, sale, and possession of intoxicating liquor. Put on probation for one year, February 20, 1923. Warrant for violation of probation, January 27, 1924. Continued four times. Discharged from probation, February 22, 1924.
Present mode of living unknown; at time of offense lived at home.
Family: Mother 41, sisters 23, 16. Father 48, divorced, lives in another city. One brother dead. Mother has always worked away from home.

Frank is a tall, well-built fellow, has a strong personality, and is fairly intelligent. He looks a little "tough," however, and shows signs of dissipation.

The hearing in the boys' court for violation of probation occurred February 2, 1924, and the offense for which he was placed on probation more than a year before. The difficulties that led to his court appearance were part of an unpleasant family situation. Frank declines to talk about it more than to say, "It was family trouble and I ain't telling my private business. I wasn't all to blame, but that is over now and I run my business and they run theirs." In 1919 the mother had the father brought into the court of domestic relations, as he was abusive and drank. In the spring of 1921 they were divorced. Frank went to live with his father for a few months after that, and when he returned to his mother they did not get along well. His mother complained that Frank refused to live up to her standards. He left her home and went to live with his aunt. The mother then, in December, 1921, complained to the juvenile court about Frank, but the officer persuaded her to let him remain with his aunt. His arrest in 1923, according to his mother, occurred when Frank was carrying some liquor to his father. He was placed on probation. A year later she again complained to the boys' court, saying that Frank had been drinking and struck her and allowed another drunken fellow to make insulting remarks to her. A warrant for violation of probation was issued. He was discharged a month later, however, at the end of his term of one year, and the case was classified as satisfactory. Frank says he knows nothing about probation and cares nothing about it. He says the man he reported to was all right but got hard sometimes. The mother says that the probation officer did not visit her; she thinks that more might have been done if the officer had talked to her and got her point of view.

Although Frank apparently lives in the same neighborhood as his mother he was located only after much effort. An acquaintance agreed to make an

appointment with the boy, and the interview took place on the street. He may be living with some of his father's relatives, but the house was described by the acquaintance as a "nasty dump." The mother and the younger sister, Rose, lived alone in four damp basement rooms until two months ago, when the mother's doctor persuaded them to move. They now live with the married sister. The young married couple are musical, and the home is attractive. They have a piano, phonograph, saxophone, and clarinet. The mother has been sick and unable to work for a year, and expenses of operation and illness have used up all her savings. Before her sickness she had always cleaned offices at night. Rose is only 16 and still attends continuation school. She earns only $12 a week on which she tries to support her mother and herself. She pays half the $35 monthly rent for the 6-room apartment. Both the older sister and her husband work.

The mother needs the financial support of her son as much as he needs the home influence of his family. There seems no possibility that either can be arranged. Indeed, by going to live with her daughter the mother seems to have put an end to whatever family influences Frank had; before that time he used to come to his sister's house to visit, but since his mother is there he does not come. He still speaks to his sisters on the street, but the last time his mother saw him she said he was drunk and did not seem to see her. Although she speaks of him with tears in her eyes she also manifests resentment. Frank seems to have much affection for his father, but his father has no home for him.

Frank remembers his home during his childhood as a place where there was so much quarreling that he stayed away from it as much as possible and "naturally got into lots of trouble." He does not blame his father for leaving home where he was fussed at so much. He admits that his father drinks but says that he is a good man and while drinking is good-natured and not abusive. He reports that his father still loves his wife, worries about her, and thinks she is insane or she would not make everyone around her so miserable. Until 12 or 15 years ago Mr. Zwierzchowski tells his son, his wife loved him and they got on well together. The boy, however, refuses to excuse his mother on the ground of mental trouble. He says his sisters do not get along with her either but put up with her because they are sorry for her.

Frank completed eight grades and left school at 15. He worked as a laborer and made $15 a week when he began work and at the time of the offense. His mother says he was a good worker until his father spoiled him. She does not know his later wages or work, and Frank was reluctant to talk about either school or work on the ground that they had nothing to do with his court record. He now earns $20 a week as a laborer and has had his present job for two months. He said he has had a dozen jobs. He evidenced no interest in work.

According to his mother and to acquaintances and relatives Frank's chief characteristic and his only recreation is drinking. The boy himself refused to discuss his activities or his companions, saying that if they were not on the square it was no one's business but his own. Since his court experience he had found life "just the same old thing as ever. When I take a drink somebody is always butting in like it was some of their business." He admits that he is "not doing right" but says that no one cares, so he is going to have a good time. He admits that he drinks "moon" a good deal, that he has been associating with prostitutes since he was quite young, and that he has been infected with gonorrhea twice but "got cured up quick."

An unhappy childhood and home life poisoned by disagreement and drink gave this boy a bad start. No evidence was discovered that he has changed his habits or that there is any existing influence that will help him. No attempt seems to have been made by any of the social or legal agencies coming in contact with him to substitute any new interests. During his probation period little or no effort, apparently, was made to give constructive supervision.

DISORDERLY CONDUCT

The 17 cases of disorderly conduct present extremely wide variations. Singing on the street, individual and gang fights, liquor-law violations, suspicion of robbery, and attempted burglary are among the complaints. A number of the boys discharged had no problems

needing treatment by the court, and their offenses were so slight that arrest and court arraignment seemed unnecessary. In the cases of others arrested on the same charge and given the same disposition by the court, habitual misconduct and unfavorable surroundings made treatment desirable for satisfactory adjustment.

Among those whose arrest seemed unnecessary is George Grove (case not given in detail), arrested with a group of high-school students while singing on the streets at night. George is a shy boy of otherwise exemplary conduct, who has a good home. Another is Victor Galassi (case not given), interested in literature and music, who was arrested at 4 in the afternoon while driving with several companions. The driver was reckless; one of the boys irritated the officer who stopped them, and he took them all to court. Michael Finley (case not given in detail) was arrested while walking in a strange part of the town by officers looking for the person who had committed a robbery. The officers made no attempt to secure a confession, but took Michael to court, where he was immediately discharged. Patrick McGinnis (case 35) got into trouble, chiefly fighting, as a result of gang associations, and appeared to have benefited from the supervision he received from a private agency cooperating with the court.

Among the boys with serious problems is Stanley Paradowski (case 33), who was arrested in a pool room, and after many continuances and the issuance of a warrant was discharged. After the disorderly-conduct offense studied he was charged with burglary, and at the time of the interview was in a similar difficulty. He had a long juvenile-court record, had been on probation, and had been in two correctional institutions. Throughout his childhood he had had difficulty with his stepmother, he had never had sufficient recreation of a wholesome sort, and he had completed only five grades in school. James Carr (case 34), a negro boy, practically homeless since the age of 12 years and presumably feeble-minded, was arrested on the occasion included in the study for breaking school windows. James admits that this was preparatory to burglarizing the place. His court record included arrests for vagrancy, automobile larceny, and robbery, and sentences to the house of correction and the reformatory, where he is now serving a sentence of 3 to 20 years. Another boy charged with disorderly conduct who was caught before he had a chance to commit the intended burglary is Joseph Dziupla (case 37), who admits 12 arrests in 21 months, and whose career has terminated for the present with robbery and murder. He was a misfit at school, which he thinks as bad as prisons, and at work, belongs to a well-known gang, and admits immorality. Both James Carr and George Figura (case 36) are boys with tramping proclivities, who make Chicago the base of their wanderings and activities. Clarence Shean's (case 38) mother and father had been confirmed drunkards. Improvement in home conditions and a fairly good outlook for the children had been brought about mainly through the careful, prolonged supervision of probation officers of the juvenile court. Clarence had also been helped by the probation officer under whom he was placed after his boys' court appearance. Probation also helped Arthur Baumann (case 39) to overcome the handicaps of irregular home life and bad gang associations.

The histories of 7 of the 17 boys charged with disorderly conduct follow.

33. STANLEY PARADOWSKI

Interview January 20, 1927.
Native white, parents born in Poland. Father in United States 23 years, mother 19 years. Mother dead.
Present age, 19; age at time of offense, 17.
Boys' court hearing, February 2, 1925. Disorderly conduct. Case continued eight times. Discharged June 27, 1925.
Lives at home.
Family: Father 47, stepmother 38, sister 15, brothers 12, 9, stepmother's children (all boys) 17, 15, 12, 9. Sister, married, in own home.

Stanley is a tall, very slender boy with a feminine, high-pitched voice. He has bushy hair and holds his head on one side when looking at anything attentively. His clothes look old and worn but are neat and clean. He is quite talkative but refused to discuss his offenses on the ground that the interviewer might be a detective. It was an unfortunate time to attempt an interview as Stanley had recently been arrested for another offense.

He took the same attitude toward all questions connected with his court experience. In his opinion the court had done him no good: "Court ain't helped me, just made me worse. I ain't changed one bit since then."

Stanley's juvenile-court record began in July, 1923, when he was accused of burglary and taking a gold chain, medal, and manicure set. He was placed on probation and ordered to pay $2.50. In November, he was in the juvenile court as incorrigible and was sent to the Chicago Parental School as a truant. He did well at the school and was released after four months. In July, 1924, Stanley was accused of stealing two rings and $10 from a locker at a bathing beach. He was committed to the Chicago and Cook County School. He escaped in October but evidently was returned, as he was released permanently in 1926, with a good report of conduct. His first appearance in the boys' court was in November, 1925, for larceny. He had picked up scrap iron and wood on the prairie. At this time he was placed on probation for a year. The offense included in this study occurred less than three months later. The only statement on the court records in regard to this charge of disorderly conduct was that the boy was taken out of a pool room at 12.30 at night. During continuance of the case it was necessary to take out a warrant for Stanley's appearance. After that the case was again continued and was finally discharged nearly five months after its beginning. In March, 1926, he was again accused of burglary, and in May the charge was dismissed for want of prosecution.

Stanley's stepmother tried to give a good account of his behavior. She insisted that he had improved very much since being put on probation, but she said that a few days before the interview he was falsely accused of taking part in the breaking of a store window. A large plate-glass window was broken, and a group of young boys fled down the street. A neighbor who saw them running thought she recognized Stanley as one of them. He was arrested and taken to the police station. Mrs. Paradowski stated that Stanley's shirt and tie were bloody from the beating the police had given him, when she visited him in the police station. His case came up in court on November 15. The family had put up $1,000 bond and paid $10 in cash to get Stanley's release from jail the day before. He was held for the grand jury. (The outcome of this case was not known at the time this study was made.) Mrs. Paradowski claims that Stanley was in a motion-picture theater at the time that this offense occurred. She insisted that Stanley had not been guilty of any of the offenses for which he had been in court.

The probation record shows that Stanley made three reports during his term of probation and that nine visits were paid to his home by the officer. He was released from probation with a satisfactory record, February 20, 1926, in spite of his court appearances during the probation period.

Stanley's own mother died in November, 1918, and three weeks later his father remarried. The Paradowski family live in a poor neighborhood. The houses are old and dilapidated. Mr. Paradowski owns the 4-apartment building in which they occupy a 5-room apartment. Four rooms are used as sleeping rooms for the 10 members of the family. The front part of the house is tidy and fairly comfortable, but the back part is quite shabby. No attempts had been made to provide recreation or leisure occupations in the home. Stanley's stepmother does not speak English. She is neat, quite pleasant, and

rather intelligent. She accepts the care of the large family of children and stepchildren philosophically although some difficulty has been experienced in adjusting the two families to each other. Mrs. Paradowski spoke very pleasantly of Stanley, but Stanley says that she is "an old hypocrite," and really does not like him. Previous records of social agencies show that at various times during his boyhood there was considerable friction between them. At one time when Stanley was staying away from school he insisted that his stepmother forced him to wear glasses that did not suit him. Other glasses were secured for him, and he returned to school. The stepmother at another time complained to a protective association that Stanley would not attend school, and this time Stanley explained to the agency visitor that he would not go because his stepmother made him wear a certain waist which he did not like. The representative of the society persuaded the stepmother to put away the waist, and Stanley promised to go to school.

Stanley's father at present seems to take a good deal of interest in him, but he was described in earlier agency records as alcoholic and irresponsible. In 1923 he was thought to be tuberculous. In 1917 and 1918 a family-welfare society assisted the family slightly. In 1923 another application for aid was made, but it was found that the family had an adequate income.

Stanley's oldest sister, Louise, has been the most difficult member of the family. Between 1917 and 1919 she was in the juvenile court three times on various charges involving immoral conduct and once for stealing. She was said to be easily led; she swore and used obscene language. Her parents were reported to be kind to her. Once her stepmother brought her home, and once Stanley brought her back and tried to make satisfactory arrangements for her. In 1918 she was sent to the county hospital for treatment for venereal disease. In 1919, she was committed to the State school for the feeble-minded, and admitted to that institution the next January. She escaped after one week. She was also for a time in the State hospital for the insane but was later at large. At the school for the feeble-minded she was diagnosed as a low-grade moron with sex delinquencies and was not recommended for release. Her chronological age was 16 and her mental age 8½.

Stanley entered public school when 7 or 8 and left at 16. He had repeated two grades and completed the fifth. He left because he was "fed up on books"; "school is all right if you have plenty of money and can go dressed like a king and stand in with the teacher and not have to work."

Stanley was first a messenger, earning $10 a week. At the time of the offense studied he was a truck helper at $12 a week, and at the present time he earns $25 a week at the same occupation. He has had, he thinks, about 10 jobs. He does not remember why he left these jobs but thinks he just does not fit into most work. "I don't like work but I gotta live and any sensible person knows you gotta work to live. Nobody likes to work just to be working." Stanley says that he spends nearly all his earnings on his family, but his father said that he does not contribute more than $10 a week.

The only comment Stanley would make in regard to his own behavior, was "I ain't been no angel, and I don't want to be." He says that he belongs to a gang and has the same friends he has had for years; they have all grown up together. He says he likes to see a baseball game, likes motion pictures and pool, and likes drinking.

Stanley's stepmother said that he does not do anything for recreation except ride in an automobile once in a while. "There is nothing for him to do." She said that as a younger boy Stanley was very hard to manage, that he was disobedient and independent and a truant all his school life. When he was in the juvenile court the probation officer reported that Stanley's activities outside his home and school were limited, that he played a little ball and attended the motion pictures. His companions during all this time are said to have been bad.

Results indicate that the dispositions made of the cases against Stanley have not been beneficial to him. Apparently his conduct has not changed. Little attempt seems to have been made while he was on probation to do any intensive work with him or to change any conditions that might have led to his delinquencies. He was never adjusted at school and has always lived in an overcrowded home and with a group not related by ties of blood, in which he was not well adjusted.

34. JAMES CARR

Interview October 22, 1926.
Native black, parents native black.
Present age, 19; age at time of offense, 17.
Boys' court hearing, May 22, 1924. Disorderly conduct. Discharged July 5, 1924.
Interviewed at reformatory; at time of offense, rooming.
Family: Father and mother dead, sister 18, whereabouts unknown.

James looks like a person who might be dangerous when allowed at large. He seems dull and stubborn. When examined at the reformatory at the age of 17 James was found to have a mental age of 8 years, 9 months. He is tall and weighs more than 200 pounds.

Two offenses are found on the Chicago court and police records for this boy under his own name. On other occasions he has used as an alias the name of a boy whom he has gone with at various times and with whom he committed the larceny that resulted in the first arrest on his record. In September, 1923, he was charged with larceny of an automobile and received a sentence of three months in the house of correction. In May, 1924, he was charged with disorderly conduct. Being a wanderer, James has had experiences with the police in other cities. He said that he had been arrested four times. The first time was in East St. Louis, where he was arrested for having ridden a freight train into town and was ordered to leave. For the offense studied, which appears on the social-service card merely as a pick-up of some boys who were breaking windows, James was discharged.

James describes the case studied as somewhat more serious than the record shows. He said that they intended to "get some stuff out of the store," when they broke the windows but that they were caught before they could take anything. Some time after this he stole a gun from a man who lived where he roomed and, according to his story, held up people on two different nights. On the second night he was caught by the police as he was holding up a man. "This time," he said, "the police nearly killed me." He has stayed in the police station overnight each time he has been arrested and was in jail three days at the time of the larceny charge and about two months after the robbery. For this offense, he was sentenced to serve 3 to 20 years in the reformatory at Pontiac on a charge of robbery with a gun. He began his sentence in July, 1924. His conduct at the reformatory was reported as "not good." To James these correctional institutions have their advantages. His clothes and his food in the reformatory are better than he has ever had before, but he objects to "being caged up like a bird and being bossed around."

James's mother died when he was about 12, and apparently he has had little home life since then. He has drifted around from place to place until sent to the reformatory. His father, also, is dead, and he has not heard from his only sister in about five years and has no idea where she is. In Chicago at the time of the offense studied his room was in a dark, filthy basement and during his whole stay in the city, he slept in places that were little more than dens.

James attended school for five years, starting when 7 years old. He repeated the first and third grades and had finally completed the third when his mother died and he left school. The first job that he remembers was selling coal on a wagon, for which he received $10 a week. He was not employed at the time of the offense studied. He has had many jobs but does not remember much about them.

He went around very little with other boys and had no social contacts. He remembers that he went to church when he was small. As to his conduct when he was at home, he only remembers that "ma used to have to whip me lots for deviling Sue (his sister). Sometimes she whipped me, and pa did too, when I was a little boy, for stealing watermelons down in Georgia."

This boy's low mentality and his huge size, as well as his somewhat stubborn disposition and apparent imperviousness to emotion, would seem to make him a dangerous person to be without any ties or control of any sort, as he has been in the past. Some sort of institutional treatment is probably essential for him. In an institution like the reformatory he will be protected for a time but eventually will be released. If the present system of parole continues practically no control can be exerted over him after his release.

35. PATRICK M'GINNIS

Interview October 26, 1926.
Native white. Father born in Ireland, mother native white. Father in United States 25 years.
Present age, 19; age at time of offense, 17.
Boys' court hearing, July 2, 1924. Disorderly conduct. Continued under supervision of a private agency. Discharged September 14, 1924.
Lives at home.
Family: Father 46, mother 44. Mother worked away from home.

Patrick is a neat, well-dressed, and nice-looking boy of medium height and weight. He is clean cut, extremely shy but seems to have a belligerent disposition.

Patrick's court record includes one charge of disorderly conduct a few days before the offense included in the study. Patrick said: "The first time I was just in a fight on the street. I belong to the ——— Ball room gang and we all got in a fight with some other gangsters and the cops picked us up. They turned all of the fellows loose that they knew. The rest got stuck. I didn't get a fair break from the cop that night. The night copper at ——— station tried to get the cop to send us home but he wouldn't." According to the court record the officer stated in court said that there had been no reason for the arrest and Patrick was discharged. The next time, Patrick said, "I got arrested and I deserved it. I was with some boys and we had all had a few drinks and we were raising the devil, but the court was square with me, as well as the cops. The judge gave me a chance when he could have sent me away. I appreciated the chance and it gave me a lesson." The court continued the case while it was investigated by a representative of a private agency. At the same time, the boy was to report to the superintendent of the society. Of this man Patrick said: "He is a good and sensible man. He put me straight, and I have a high regard for him. That man could help any boy out who has any sense or self-respect." His court experience has given Patrick a good opinion of the general effect of the court. "That boys' court is a real good place for a boy to go rather than other courts I have seen. I think Chicago ought to keep it; it helped me, and I know other boys it has helped." At the end of two months' supervision Patrick was discharged by the court.

Patrick's family live in a good west side neighborhood with nice homes and a large park a block away, offering various forms of recreation. The father owns the apartment house in which the family occupies a 6-room apartment. In the home, which is furnished rather elaborately but in good taste, are a phonograph, radio, books, and magazines. Usually the family has only three members, but at the present time, owing to the mother's illness, her sister is there caring for her. The father is a contractor and evidently makes a good income. The mother had been working for many years in a position that brought her in contact with social problems. The attitude of the members of the family toward one another seems normal and natural. The parents are fond of the boy and seem to be very good to him. The mother has been anxious for him to obtain a good education and has been somewhat disappointed that he did not want to go to school longer and take up a clerical or professional line of work.

Patrick entered school at 5 and left at 17, when he graduated from high school. "I have had all the school I want," he said. "I would not have finished high school except that mother would have been hurt. I don't care for office work or any kind that it takes a lot of schooling to do. What I like is something in the way of electricity or building. I want to be a sheet-metal worker if I can't get into the electrician's union. That is what I am trying to do now. If I can, that is all I will ever do." At the present time Patrick is not employed. Two months ago his former employer went out of business. Since that time Patrick has been waiting for an opportunity to get into electrical work. He has had several jobs offered him but has not accepted them. At the time of his court experience he was a clerk in a store, earning $22.50 a week, his first position after leaving school. Patrick said, "I had a very good job as a clerk and I got on fine, but I don't like work where you meet people all the time. I had rather work hard and tend to my own business than to sit around and to be all the time bawled out by some customer. If I can't be an electrician I want to be a contractor some day. Mother thinks I ought to do something else, since I have a high-school education, but I know what I like best."

In talking of his conduct difficulties before his boys' court experience Patrick gives some rather illuminating comments on life as he found it for a boy in his

district: "I have had no trouble besides what all boys do. I had street fights, but I never lay out of school or stole or done anything like that. If a boy keeps his self-respect and belongs to a gang or lives in a neighborhood where lots of boys are he has to fight. I don't do it because I like to but because I have to." Since his boys' court experience Patrick says that he has had no troubles except a few fights which were forced upon him. "I am learning to stay out of fights, though. I find if I don't have much to say to a tough, I don't get into so much to fight about." As to his companions Patrick said: "I run with some pretty tough eggs in my gang and on the streets, but I don't see them often now since I got out of high school. Now I spend most of my time with other friends. We go to parties at each other's homes. Sometimes we go to dances and shows down town. I am better satisfied to go with these friends for they are not such roughnecks. I never have fights with them. They are civil and nice and don't have so much fight in their codes of honor." The father also says that he has had no trouble with Patrick except his fighting. However, the father thinks that it is natural in a boy and especially in his son. "I suppose he come by it naturally; I was the same way when I was coming up."

Mr. McGinnis thinks that the supervision given Patrick through the court was very beneficial. He said that the agent of the society was of real value. "His association had a good effect upon Patrick. He has been more serious-minded ever since that time." He says that Mrs. McGinnis also approves of this supervision and that she is very much in favor of this system of supervision by a private agency.

Apparently Patrick's difficulties have arisen from his connection with a rather rough group of boys. Having a harmonious home and no particular problems he will probably have little more difficulty. Since his court appearance he has not been arrested and, according to him and his family, has engaged in fewer fights. For a boy of Patrick's type the supervision accorded by the court was probably very suitable treatment.

36. GEORGE FIGURA

Interview December 21, 1926.
Native white, parents native white. Father dead.
Present age, 18; age at time of offense, 17.
Boys' court hearing, July 1, 1925. Disorderly conduct. Arrested on complaint of mother. Case continued under informal supervision. Discharged October 8, 1925.
Lives with grandparents; at time of offense, lived at home.
Family: Stepfather 40, mother 38, sister 19 (married), brothers 17, 11.

Tall, well built, and apparently healthy, George, at the time of the interview, was neither very clean nor neatly dressed. He is awkward and slow in his response. George is not contented with any one place very long and has developed a tramping habit.

When examined by the Institute for Juvenile Research in 1924 George was found to have "inadequate intelligence equipment." His intelligence quotient was 89. The report at this time stated that he had shown an unfavorable adjustment in the various child-caring institutions in which he had been placed and that the escapade which brought him to the court at that time was a minor affair compared to his general maladjustment. It was felt that he would have greater difficulties later. The examiners found much to suggest a psychopathic make-up and the likelihood of a continued delinquent career. They found that his mother's supervision was inadequate and that his grandparents were probably too old to undertake his care. When examined at the psychopathic laboratory at the age of 17 George's mental age was given as 11⅘ years, and he was described as a high-grade borderland moron plus dementia præcox katatonia.

The only time that George has been in the boys' court was for the offense studied, when his mother made a complaint that he had stayed away from home for two nights. He was fined $100 and costs, but upon a motion to vacate the case was continued and George was examined in the psychopathic laboratory. He was found not to be committable to the institution for the feebleminded, and his case was continued under the supervision of a private agency. It was decided that he was to leave home and to stay at a church home for boys, and his case was discharged. George says that he was staying away from home because he did not get along with his stepfather, whom he had never liked.

George's own father died in 1914. The mother's parents paid the father's funeral expenses and took the whole family to live with them. In a few months the mother left their home and applied to the juvenile court for a pen-

sion, which was granted in March, 1915. Although her parents also helped the family the mother had difficulty in managing on her income. The family was forced to move frequently because of complaints about the children, over whom the mother had no control. The mother neglected her home and children and was immoral, and the pension was stayed in September, 1916. The grandparents took the youngest boy, and the three older children were sent to institutions for dependent children. Later George was placed in a second children's institution.

During these years the mother continued to stay out at night and to conceal her occupation and residence from her parents. In 1918 George's sister was released permanently from the institution to the mother, but she lived with the grandparents. When he was 14 George also was released on probation to live at home with the mother. He got into trouble shortly after this, as he was neither working nor attending school. Conditions at this time were not satisfactory. The mother, George, and his sister, 16 years old, were all sleeping in one room. After this, George was committed several times to correctional institutions. In July, 1924, his mother married again, and the home was reestablished; but the home was still neglected by the mother, and she did not get on well with her husband. The grandparents' home has always been well cared for, and they have taken excellent care of the children who have been in their charge. They are especially fond of the girl and youngest boy, who have been with them more than the other children.

At present all the children are living with the grandparents. The mother and stepfather are both living in a rooming house but have separate rooms, the mother claiming that she has left her husband as he did not support her. The grandparents' home is a very attractive grey stone 2-story building in a desirable neighborhood which George finds very dull. The grandfather, George's sister, her husband, and the 17-year-old brother are all working. In addition, the first-floor apartment brings in $45 a month rent. Frank, the 17-year-old boy, has had one year of high-school work and expects to graduate from a special vocational course in June.

George entered school at 6 years of age and stopped school in 1922, when he left an institution. He was then in the eighth grade. As he did not like school he immediately went to work, although he went to continuation school in the fall for a few weeks. Later, when he was in the Chicago and Cook County School in 1923 and 1924, he was again in the eighth grade and took manual training, which he enjoyed very much.

His first work was as an errand boy at $8 a week. At the time he was in the boys' court he was making from $18 to $20 a week as a laborer. He held his first job for nine months and then left because his employer would not give him a raise. One job which he liked was on a delivery truck. This gave him a change of scene, as deliveries were often made in the country. He was earning $22 a week at this work. He had a fight with the boss, however, and quit. He lost his last job three weeks ago because he stayed away from work for a day. He has had innumerable other jobs. He does not mind working, but he quarrels with his bosses and with his fellow workmen and gets tired of doing the same thing.

George's delinquency record in the juvenile court began in July, 1923, when he was charged with incorrigibility and placed under supervision. In November of that year he was charged with larceny and sent to the Chicago and Cook County School. He was again sent there on a similar charge in June, 1924. His conduct while at this school alternated between satisfactory and unsatisfactory. He broke the rules several times, but on the whole got along very well with the school staff and the other boys. He ran away twice, which makes his record there poor. He was permanently discharged when he became 17. He liked this institution much better than the institutions for dependents.

George says that the police station in which he spent a night was a terrible place, and he hopes that he will never get back there. He was in the county jail for 12 days, at the time of his appearance in the boys' court, and says that it was filthy, worse than those he knows in other cities. He has traveled considerably since the offense studied and was in the detention home in an Ohio city early in 1926 on a charge of forgery. He was later discharged. He has also recently been in jail in cities in two adjoining States.

George goes with few boys, usually only one at a time, and belongs to no clubs or gangs. He belonged to the National Guard for a year and a half and used to go to drill but does not care for that any more. His chief activity for

the last two years has been tramping from city to city and from State to State. Two weeks before the interview he went on a "hitch hike" to St. Louis, Nashville, Springfield, and other places, over icy roads and in the bitter cold. Another boy went with him on this trip; but as it is hard for two boys to get lifts he prefers to go alone.

The supervision ordered by the boys' court apparently had no effect upon him. He said that the agency's representative tried to make him go to church but that he paid no attention to him and has not been to church in five years. The training at the Chicago and Cook County School had benefited him temporarily, but the length of time which he remained in that institution was insufficient to alter his behavior permanently.

The very undesirable home conditions due to the death of his father and the neglect of his mother gave George a most unfortunate childhood. His intellectual equipment and character have not been sufficient to overcome these early disadvantages. So far he has been in no very serious difficulty. His "wanderlust" leads to arrests on disorderly-conduct charges, but it will be surprising if more serious difficulties are not encountered. The supervision under which he was placed by the boys' court was an attempt toward a correct solution of his case, but the work of the private agency was not sufficiently intensive to meet the boy's needs.

37. JOSEPH DZIUPLA

Interview October 20, 1926.
Native white, father and mother born in Poland. Both in United States 23 years.
Present age, 18; age at time of offense, 17.
Boys' court hearing, April 1, 1925. Disorderly conduct. On same date fined $100 and $6.50 costs. Motion to vacate sentence. Three continuances. Warrant issued May 8, 1925. No further record of this case.
Lives at home.
Family: Father 43, mother 40, brothers 14, 7.

Joseph is a rather tall, shabbily dressed lad who likes to talk and grows boastful of his wild ways and bad deeds. He is nervous and is made cross easily, a bit dull mentally, extremely self-centered, and with no apparent regard for the rights, feelings, or property of others.

The particular offense included in this study is the second in a series of nine court appearances recorded within 21 months—Joseph himself recalls three more such occasions. His story of this offense is: "Me and another boy broke in a tire shop to get some tires out for his car, but we got caught too quick to take any of them, The cops did not have anything on us, so they just charged us with disorderly conduct and then the judge just bawled us out a little and sent us home. He said next time we got in that court that he was going to make it hot for us." A fine was imposed, but evidently it was neither paid nor served out in an institution, as a motion to vacate sentence was made. Four hearings were held, but at the last one Joseph did not appear. A warrant was issued but not served, and less than a month elapsed before he was again in court, this time on a charge of burglary. This charge was dropped, but he was sentenced on a petty-larceny charge to 90 days in the house of correction. He served his term, his father paid the $6.50 due for fine and costs, and he was released in August, 1925. His mother had obtained bail for him when he was taken by the police the first time, but on each occasion after that he had to remain in the station until his court hearing.

Joseph's family live in an extremely poor, dirty, and congested negro neighborhood. Joseph belongs to a gang known by the name of a street four blocks from his home. He knows he gets into trouble every time he gets out with his gang, but he says "If I don't run around with them, who am I going to go with? There ain't nobody else in this part of the town." The family owns the two houses on its lot, and lives in six rooms on the second floor of the rear building, which faces on an alley. The house was fairly clean but cluttered and disordered. The family owns a phonograph, a sewing machine, and a violin which no one knows how to play. A small automobile which his mother bought for him a few months ago furnishes Joseph with more recreation than anything inside his home. The family attend church regularly, Joseph going when he is made to. The father is a kind, simple man; the mother a turbulent, talkative woman, abusive to the children and to the neighbors. She is disgusted with Joseph for working so little, but does not seem to realize the seriousness of his delinquencies. She thinks she should not have allowed him to stop school, and she intends to keep the younger boys in school until they are 18, hoping that education will keep them straight. Fourteen-year-old Charles, however, is apparently no better qualified to profit by education than his older brother, as he

has reached only the fourth grade. Charles is a nervous boy who cries easily; he has been in the juvenile court for three offenses. The first time he became involved in a neighborhood quarrel between two families, and in trying to defend his mother became offensive. The charge was dropped. He did not appear again until three years later—three months ago—when he, with another boy, was accused of two burglaries, one of breaking into a restaurant and stealing $150 worth of cigars and candy, $10 in currency, and the contents of telephone boxes; the other was a similar offense, when more than $900 worth of goods and money was taken. The boys denied the charges in court, and the mother thinks the police of the station near their house accuse Charles because Joseph has often used the little boy's name. (The boys' court record shows that both names have been used there by Joseph.) The police, according to the mother, have hit Charles over the head with their clubs and have threatened him with their guns at his head, until he has admitted crimes of which he is innocent.

Joseph entered school at 6 and left at 16. He thought it too hard: "This school idea is all right for rich boys who like reading, but for me it was the bunk. I had just as soon go back to the Bridewell as to school. There ain't much difference. In both of them you are bossed around and penned up, and you don't get no good out of it." He managed to complete six grades after repeating the work in three grades.

As a worker Joseph has been even less of a success. He had no idea how many jobs he has had but would guess about 20 in the two or three years since he left school. Sometimes he got fired, sometimes he got tired, sometimes he got other jobs, and sometimes he "just quit." He complains that the bosses want too much work for too little money. He began work as a factory hand at $10 a week when he was 16. He was not working at the time of the court appearance included in the study, but apparently had a job at the time of the interview in a tin-can factory, where he had been working two weeks at $18 a week. His mother, when interviewed a week previously had doubted that he was really working, although he had been taking his lunch and the automobile and saying he was going to work.

Joseph's story of his own conduct shows real pride in his delinquent career. "I fought on the streets since I was first in school, and the police have picked on me ever since I can remember anything much. They had me in juvenile court time after time. I gave them fake names and they let me off. I have always been called a bad boy, and I have lived up to it. If they had caught up with me for all I've done they'd have me sent away for life."

Joseph does not go to dances or parties. He goes to motion pictures and pool rooms and rides in his car. On Saturday nights he and his chums take girls they meet at the motion pictures to ride in their cars, and later go to the rooms of the girls, where they drink and spend the night. Joseph says that he has twice been infected with gonorrhea and that his "blood is bad" at the present time. His face and arms were covered with running sores at the time of the first interview, though none was visible three months later.

Of his prison experiences he said: "I have never been in the county jail, but I feel at home in police stations. They are bad places to get into, but when you get used to them it don't matter. After all, except for hard cops, they ain't much worse than a poor boy is used to, and they ain't any worse than schools. I can't tell how much time I've put in police stations. I have never stayed over four days at once. They did not book me at all that time, but they sure beat the tar out of me every day." Of the house of correction he would only say. "If you mind your own business and behave you get on all right."

Joseph said: "At first when they got me in court I was scared, but now I am used to being there and it don't bother me at all." He feels that at the boys' court the judges are lenient when they can be. "I have been in the boys' court seven times in a year. I got five breaks and got off light the other times, and I was guilty every time and done lots worse than they caught me for. I ain't got no kick coming for the court." From his experience he says that the other municipal-court judges "will sock you the limit of the law every time." However, "I ain't got nothing to kick about on the police. If I was a copper I guess I would have given a fellow who has given them the trouble I have a lot worse beatings than they ever have give me."

Although Joseph said he could not go to the trouble to tell how all his arrests came about even if he remembered them, he told of stealing some "radio stuff," for which he got 90 days in the house of correction, and of another time when he made a business of selling stuff which another boy took from a

store. He was caught at this also and given 30 days in the house of correction. He told of several arrests for disorderly conduct and says that every time he has been arrested he has been "drunk on moon." He boasted of hold-ups and was amused at "how funny and scared people get when you stick them up."

The court and police records bear out much of this testimony. His first recorded appearance was in the boys' court in February, 1925, when his ownership of an automobile was questioned and he was discharged. The second was the attempted breaking in and stealing described, which was recorded as disorderly conduct ending in a warrant. The third appearance was in May, when the radio-factory burglary charge was changed to petty larceny and he served 90 days in the Bridewell. The fourth, six days after his release, concerned larceny of an automobile; he was discharged. The fifth charge, in March, 1926, was disorderly conduct, when there were three continuances while an effort was made to get in touch with his parents. The disposition is not recorded, probably because in the meantime he was again before the court on a sixth and more serious charge. This time he with two other boys held up a drunken man and were charged with robbery. Two continuances and the issuance of a warrant are recorded. Larceny of an auto and selling stolen goods were the cause of a seventh case, in June, and brought a sentence of 30 days in the house of correction, a $9 fine, and costs. Another larceny charge made two days after this appearance is recorded but not the disposition.

Less than two weeks after Joseph gave the foregoing information he was in the county jail charged with murder. Newspapers gave the case considerable publicity, and information regarding it is derived from them and from observation in the court room. A man, the father of three children, was found by the police dying on a sidewalk with his pockets turned inside out and his watch missing. The police at once suspected Joseph's gang and immediately arrested four of them, including Joseph. The boys confessed that they had beaten their victim when he resisted. A cheap watch and $25 were obtained. Eventually nine boys from 16 to 23 years of age, seven of them less than 20 years, were indicted. The defense contended that the confessions had been obtained by the police through "third-degree methods," and the boys presented testimony to the judge concerning the brutality of the police. The judge, however, ruled that the confessions had been made voluntarily and therefore might be presented to the jury as evidence. Joseph and the other boys presented a good appearance during the trial and, as one newspaper stated, looked as though they should be on a high-school campus rather than in the criminal court. Three months after the commission of the crime all nine were found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to serve from one year to life in the penitentiary. Later a new trial was denied them.

Joseph's whole career tended toward such an event. At home his parents were unable to help him or to protect him. At school he was apparently mentally incapable of profiting by the usual type of education, and no efforts were made to find a type of training adapted to him. Diseases which he contracted were probably an additional handicap. The community in which he lived offered him no adequate substitute for the gang life which led from loafing on street corners to lying in wait in dark alleys late at night for passers-by from whom a little loot could be secured, and eventually to the killing of a victim. That he would be restrained from crime by neither moral compunctions nor fear was clear from his boastful attitude about what he had done. Crime has become his business and his recreation. To have saved this boy and protected the community from him a better system of diagnosis, treatment, and care in connection with his first offenses was clearly necessary.

38. CLARENCE SHEAN

Interview November 23, 1926.
Native white, parents born in Ireland. Father in United States 33 years; mother 30 years.
Present age, 20; age at time of offense, 19.
Boys' court hearing, October 20, 1925. Disorderly conduct. Probation six months. Fined $100 and costs $6. Fine suspended. Costs paid. Discharged from probation April 19, 1926, at expiration of term. Result "satisfactory."
Lives with sister; at time of offense lived at home.
Family: Father 49, mother 48, brothers 23, 17, 14, sister 12. Brother killed in 1919 when 17 years old. Brother born in 1916, dead.

Clarence is tall and well built, fairly neat in appearance, and shows signs of dissipation.

Although only one offense appears on the court record against him, he related two court appearances and one other arrest. He was also in the juvenile court in 1920 because of truancy and, after one continuance, was sent to the Chicago Parental School. Regarding the arrest Clarence said: "A bunch of us got some moonshine and got too noisy on the street and got picked up, but they never kept us overnight. They clubbed us and chased us in." Of his court experience he said: "Another time a bunch of us got into an awful scrap, and the police came along. We scattered, and they caught me anyhow. I got on probation for that scrape, but I did not deserve it." He explains the offense included in the study, regarding which only "picked up 8.30 p. m." appears on the social-service record, as follows: "The last time I got in a fuss with a policeman. I had just enough 'moon' in me to make me think I could lick the Kaiser; and when that cop slammed me across the head, I let him have one in the face, and then I got $100 fine, but they finally took that off and let me go on probation again." At the time of his first court appearance he was in the police station overnight. "My brother got me bailed out the second time, because he knew the captain of the station and the captain knew my brother would have me in court. The station was not as bad as I thought it would be, though. The cops were pretty decent to me, seeing I had been so nasty with them."

Clarence is enthusiastic over probation. "My probation has done me a world of good. My probation officer gave me real advice. Every boy needs probation. I ought to have been on probation before I was." He also has good words for the other agencies of the law. "The court was more than square with me, and so were the cops. They could have made it lots worse. The trips to court did me good, but the probation officer did me most good." The record in the probation department shows that Clarence reported to his officer each time that he should have—six times during his term—that four visits were paid to the home by the officer, and that Clarence paid the costs of the case.

Clarence's mother is sure that he was not at fault in these difficulties. Her version is that Clarence was standing on a corner waiting to take a car to his sister's house when a drunken policeman came along and asked him what he was doing. They got into an argument, during which the policeman struck Clarence and Clarence returned the blow. She says that Clarence is so angry at this officer that he has said he will kill him.

Home conditions and the family situation in general are at the present time a great improvement over previous years. In 1912 the mother applied for help to a family-welfare agency, as she had injured her finger and was unable to do housework. Her husband was out of work and they could not pay for a servant. The agency helped with cash and clothing and paid a woman to do the cleaning. No other contacts were had with the family until 1916. At the time of first contact the agency reported that the house was in a state of filth and a menace to the health of the neighbors. The mother was disheveled in appearance and the children very dirty and not properly clothed.

In May, 1916, Mr. and Mrs. Shean were brought to the juvenile court for neglecting their six children. Both parents had been drinking very heavily. The father was found guilty and sentenced to the house of correction for three months. The mother was placed on probation but broke it, and was sent to the house of correction three months later on a fine of $10 and costs. Both were given the drink cure there. At this time the record of the court described the mother as shiftless. She did not take care of her children, and they looked like little animals. The parents sold their interest in their home for $500 and were using the money for liquor. Clarence and two other children were sent at this time to an institution for dependent children where they stayed for three years. The next year court workers found the home unspeakably dirty. The home was barren of furniture, only two iron beds and springs remaining, with neither mattresses nor coverings. The pantry was devoid of dishes or utensils. In the sink were a few dirty dishes over which the rats were running. The next month the mother was found lying in bed drunk. The children were naked and shivering with the cold. The mother was sent to the house of correction. Two of the children were taken to the detention home, and two others were to be taken care of by the neighbor upstairs until the mother had completed the drink cure. The parents and four children had been sleeping in one room, the 14-year-old boy in the same bed with his parents.

At this time the parents were given a chance to make good with the promise that the children would be returned to them when conditions had improved. The probation officer believed the parents to be of good stock and had confidence in them. Conditions did steadily improve and, late in 1919, Clarence and his brother and his sister were returned from the institution in which they had been living. The next year, however, conditions were again bad. The family was found living in filth. The children's heads were filled with vermin. The younger boy, who had been in the institution, was found to be tuberculous and was sent to a sanitarium, where he stayed until cured. The oldest boy had been shot and killed by another boy the year before. The next oldest boy was, in 1920, a fine lad, with a good position. Some setbacks occurred that were due to the mother's drinking and her consequent neglect of her home and children, but gradual improvement was shown. The probation officer during all this time visited the family several times a week and helped them in a most friendly manner. Relations between the probation officer and the family were evidently so close that strain resulted and a new probation officer was assigned to the family, who carried on the good work. Other persons became interested in the family, and one woman especially spent much time visiting them, helping them financially and otherwise. She still sends them presents on Thanksgiving and Christmas, bearing in mind the health and recreation needs of each member of the family. In 1926 the court record stated that the children were released from probation as dependents. Conditions were considered very satisfactory. The home was reported as attractive. The parents had overcome the drink habit. The oldest boy was working and studying law at night. The whole family was doing very well except possibly the 14-year-old boy, who had been at the Chicago Parental School, but whose school attendance had improved since his discharge.

At the time of the visit to the home in connection with this study the family was living in a light and airy 7-room apartment which had been newly decorated and was clean and well cared for. There is not a great deal of furniture, but it is simple and attractively arranged and the apartment is homelike and comfortable. The family has a radio set. The apartment, on the second floor of an old-fashioned apartment building in a poor and crowded neighborhood, rents for $35 a month. It is heated by stoves.

The father is a laborer, earning $25 a week. The oldest boy, Alfred, is head stenographer in a large organization. Clarence is a machine operator in a factory, and the next brother does office work. The youngest girl is in the seventh grade. The 14-year-old boy, the mother feels, particularly needs her care. She calls him "my little bum." The mother does not know just how much her sons make. Alfred takes a good deal of responsibility, both financially and in regard to the younger children, with whom the mother feels he is rather severe. Alfred could get his father a better job, lighter work, and more pay, but the father will not change although he works from 7 a. m. to 6 p. m. He has had the same job for 33 years. The boys all pay board, and the mother thinks that both Alfred and Clarence earn more than $30 a week. The boys are wisely keeping control of the finances of the family and not allowing the wages to go for drink. Robert, the 14-year-old boy, should be in the seventh grade in school, but he is still playing truant. Alfred went to court with Clarence when he was in difficulties so that his mother would not have to, as he knew she would break down.

The mother says that the children have many friends whom they bring to the house. They dance to radio music. The father usually sleeps all evening. According to the juvenile court probation officer the father is not very cordial to the friends of the older children. At the time of the visit in connection with this study the father seemed to be indifferent toward the children, but the mother seemed interested and fond of them. She is a fine-looking woman, and the children are all tall, clean-cut, and nice looking. The older children are all ready to help the younger ones until they can look out for themselves. The mother reported that the oldest, who was killed, had died of heart trouble. The older daughter is now married and has an attractive home where Clarence spends most of his time. She and her husband are buying their house and will have it paid for next year. They also have a car.

Roy, the boy who was killed, and Robert, who is now 14, have juvenile-court records. In 1915 Roy was accused of burglary, but the case was continued generally. In 1916 another burglary charge was continued generally. In 1917 he was accused of robbery and sent to the Chicago and Cook County School, being released four months later. Robert's appearance in 1925 was for truancy,

when he was sent to the Chicago Parental School, and released from probation 10 weeks later.

Alfred went through high school and business college and is now studying law. The 17-year-old boy completed two years of his high-school course. Clarence went only to elementary school, beginning when he was 6. He went to work illegally when he was 13 because his family needed his help. He worked for only a short time when he was discovered and sent to the Chicago Parental School. After that he went back to school and attended until he was old enough to work. He has worked continuously at the same job. He said: "I have got just as good a job as I want or as anybody needs. I don't have any trouble around there at all; I just attend to my business and work and get my pay. I have always wanted to fool with machinery. My brother Alfred likes books but not me. I ain't going to be anybody that needs a big education; I just want a trade. I want to be a good machinist." He finished either the seventh or the eighth grade. When first employed as a hand he earned $10 a week. At the time of his court appearance and at the present time his earnings are $30 a week. Clarence contributes about $15 a week or more to family expenses. He has saved about $50.

When asked about his difficulties before his court appearance Clarence went back to his early childhood. "I don't care to talk about my bringing up. It was awful! I had lots of trouble, but not much of it was my fault. My mother and father are good folks, but they have always been fools about 'moonshine.' My mother don't bother it much now, but my father just has to have it. Well when they got drunk we kids were left to scratch for ourselves. When they got sober they were sick for a while, and when they got well they got drunk again. If it had not been for the juvenile court and some good-hearted folks, I don't know what would have become of us. I was in an orphanage and in the juvenile detention home and in the parental school, and I don't see why I ain't been in the pen." He says that since he was in the boys' court he has not had the least bit of trouble. "That is because my probation officer has helped me go straight."

As to his present companions Clarence said: "I don't go with many boys and no girls. I would like to go with girls, but the ones I know and who would go with me, are not good-looking enough. If I have anything to do with a girl, she has got to be swell looking. My brother Alfred knows the kind of girls I like. A hard-working laborer like me can't make much of a hit with them though. As for new friends, I ain't located many, but I am getting in with some pretty good fellows. I used to be in a gang, but I haven't taken part in a long time, for I had a big fight with one of the leaders."

Judging from Clarence's overenthusiastic defense of his trade and his longing for associations similar to his brother's, it is possible that he feels inferior because he is a laborer and because he lacks the education that his brothers and sister have. He is not satisfied with his home but stays with his sister during the week. She may be able to help him to more satisfying companions. He tells his family that he stays there so as to keep away from the boys he formerly went with, who live near his parents' home; but he told the bureau investigator that the main reason is that he prefers his sister's home and uses the other reason as an excuse.

It is evident from the entire history of this family that the members are the type who are greatly benefited by the help a social agency can give. The work of the juvenile court probation officers was excellent through many years. It was a wise move on the part of the boys' court to place Clarence on probation, and as he fortunately was assigned to an officer who was able and willing to give him the type of supervision he needed the result was very satisfactory.

39. ARTHUR BAUMANN

Interview October 15, 1926.
Native white, parents native white.
Present age, 21; age at time of offense, 19.
Boys' court hearing, August 30, 1924. Disorderly conduct. Fined $25 and $6.50 costs. Committed to house of correction. Motion to vacate judgment sustained, September 1, 1924. Case discharged.
Lives at home.
Family: Father, housekeeper. Sister married and in own home. Brother away, whereabouts unknown.

Arthur is a clean and neatly dressed, boy, rather short and slight. He has a very pleasing disposition and meets people in a friendly and frank manner.

Before the offense studied Arthur was in court in November, 1923, on a charge of disorderly conduct. He was discharged and placed under the super-

vision of a private agency. On the disorderly charge included in this study Arthur was committed to the house of correction to serve out a fine of $25 but was released after a short stay. After the offense studied, in April, 1925, he was accused of larceny and riding in a stolen car. He was placed on probation for one year. In May, 1926, he was in court for disorderly conduct and was discharged. Arthur says that on the occasions of his first two arrests for disorderly conduct, the second being the offense studied, "I was with my gang, and we had to thrash out some trouble between rivals, who wanted to be boss, and the cops got us for being disorderly. Both times it was just fights. I wasn't fighting, but I was in the crowd. I got a 60-day sentence to the house of correction (on the charge studied), but I got out the next morning after I got there." He thinks that the judge and his father got together and arranged that he was to be committed to the house of correction and let out after a very short time. He says: "They got together to scare me up, and they did a good job of it. My father got me out before I got used to the place. That night I spent there was awful." Arthur says that after he got out of the Bridewell he was turned over to the same society which had supervised him after his first offense. Of the representative of this society he said that he was a good man and that he had helped him. "He gave me lots of good advice, but I don't believe that the best man in the world ever done as good when he was a boy as that man wanted me to do." Of his subsequent probation in the probation department, Arthur speaks quite differently. He says that his probation officer "is a real fellow. He talks sensibly; talks like he knows what a boy is up against in life. He actually seems like he might have been a boy one time in his life. He did me more good than my dad and all the rest of the people I ever met up with." He says that since his probation he has been getting on very well, and he attributes this chiefly to his probation officer.

In regard to the stolen-car charge for which he was put on probation Arthur said:

"I was the victim of a bad case. I was not guilty. Two of the boys who belonged to my gang came along in a car, and I went to ride with them. The one who was driving began to speed. I saw the cops coming and told him, and he said 'I stole this car too.' That was the first we knew of it being stolen. He ran it into the curb, and we all ran. He and I got away. The third boy was shot and told who was with him. The one who did the stealing got off to California, and they never got him. They came to my home and arrested me. I wasn't guilty, but I can see how that a jury or a judge could have sent me to the pen. This trip to the court made me think of the talking sparrow that got in company with crows and got caught in a net and had to suffer with them. I am off gangs for life; their leaders are always bad and get you in Dutch."

The housekeeper said that probation was good for Arthur and helped to keep him straight. The report of the adult probation department shows that Arthur made 10 reports during his year of probation and that 6 visits were made by the officer to the house. When Arthur could not report the housekeeper called up the office to tell them. He paid the costs assessed to him.

When asked about other difficulties in his life Arthur said, "About all the trouble I ever had besides the trouble that got me in court was trouble at home with my father. My father has always made plenty of money, but he has been stingy with us kids and we just haven't got along. He doesn't care for anybody but himself. Sometimes I think of getting out and never coming back anymore. The way things went at home made me worse when I was a kid, but now I see that don't do me any good." Arthur's mother died in 1912. The father hired a housekeeper, but in 1915 he claimed that the children were not being properly taken care of and wanted them placed in an institution. As he was able to pay for them he was referred to institutions by the juvenile court, but apparently he did not place them. A children's protective association in 1917 received a complaint that the father was living with his housekeeper immorally. At the request of the association the father discharged his housekeeper; but he secured another and younger housekeeper and it was thought that he lived with her in the same way. She was later discharged and the old one reemployed. Nothing was done by the society, as legal evidence was difficult to secure. The home was fairly well cared for. It was a 7-room house, but the three children slept in one bed. When the adult probation officer visited the family he was told that the housekeeper was an aunt who had always cared for the children. At the time of the interview in con-

nection with the Children's Bureau study the housekeeper was seen and said that she was Mrs. Baumann. It is possible that she has been married recently to Arthur's father or it may be that she merely wishes to give that impression. Arthur's brother left school before he reached the eighth grade and has left home. He is said by the family to be "traveling," and they don't know where he is.

The father has his own business and apparently makes a good income. The house which he owns is in a good residential neighborhood. It is furnished attractively, and recreation is provided by an automobile, phonograph and radio, papers and magazines. The family has lived in this house about 10 years. They seem to have no social connections but attend church regularly. The father seems uninterested in Arthur except in making as much as he can out of his son's work. He seems interested only in money, and Arthur has much the same attitude. Arthur talks a great deal of money and of the time when he will be making a big income and own a large business of his own.

Arthur entered school at 6 and left after he had completed the first year of high school. He repeated the fifth and seventh grades and was 16 years old when he left. Of school he said: "School is all right. I had a good time. Some of us used to play hookey sometimes, but the truant officers got us most of the time. My teachers were generally pretty good, but I had one or two old hens who couldn't do anything but talk. I don't want any more school in mine. I don't know what I would do with it."

When he first went to work Arthur was a garage helper and earned $15 a week. At the time of the offense studied he was not working. At present he is working as a mechanic for his father and earns no wages. He has been with his father for two years. He has had four jobs; the first one he left because he did not like the place, from the second he was discharged because business was dull, and the third he left because it was office work which he does not like. He said that he always got on fine with his employers. He is apparently a hard worker and gets on well enough at his present occupation, although he seems somewhat afraid of his father. The father seems hard and unsympathetic, and the boy looks browbeaten in his presence.

Arthur says that he belongs to a gang of boys but that he takes little part in their activities. "Some of the leaders are hard boiled, and I don't like them. It was with some of them that I was riding when I got in trouble. I never have got any good out of the gang, so about a year ago I quit running with them. I like to go around by myself to hunt and fish. I don't care to fool with girls; they don't like me, and I am not any fool about them." Arthur says that a gang is a fine thing to belong to if you merely pay the assessments and let the others do the dirty work. He has found out that it is best not to associate with the members too much but that if you belong and keep quiet the members won't bother you and outsiders won't either. He does not intend to have much to do with gang life any more, but "you almost have to take sides and join up so you will have some good friends." The housekeeper said that Arthur's chief interest now is in hunting, and that he often takes the automobile and goes out to some lake and shoots whatever is in season. He brings home rabbits and ducks.

Since the death of Arthur's mother, when he was 5 years old, conditions in his home have been unsatisfactory. They have made him unconsciously, if not consciously, dissatisfied; and now that he is grown up he finds in his home none of the sympathy and help which a home should give. He found that in his neighborhood it was wise to belong to a gang, but he has also come to find out that he does not care for gang tactics. Apparently his probation gave him support that he needed, and his conduct has improved since then.

APPENDIX A.—EXTENT TO WHICH CASES STUDIED REPRESENT ENTIRE GROUP

The cases studied by the Children's Bureau may be considered representative of all the cases disposed of by the boys' court in 1924 and 1925. The proportions of each type of offense committed corresponded closely in the two groups of cases. Of the 16,475 cases disposed of by the boys' court in the 2-year period, 4,716 (28.6 per cent) were disposed of as felonies, 3,779 (22.9 per cent) as misdemeanors, and 7,980 (48.4 per cent) as quasi-criminal offenses. Of the 1,499 cases in the scheduled group, 451 (30.1 per cent) were dealt with as felonies, 350 (23.3 per cent) as misdemeanors, and 698 (46.6 per cent) as quasi-criminal offenses. (Table I.)

TABLE I.—*Type of offense in all cases disposed of in the boys' court and in scheduled cases dealt with in the boys' court during 1924 and 1925*

Type of offense	Cases							
	Total disposed of		Scheduled					
			Total		Selected [1]		Excluded	
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Charges simultaneous with selected cases [2]	Other [3]
Total	16,475	100.0	1,499	100.0	972	100.0	108	419
Felony	4,716	28.6	451	30.1	256	26.3	75	120
Misdemeanor	3,779	22.9	350	23.3	234	24.1	22	94
Quasi-criminal	7,980	48.4	698	46.6	482	49.6	11	205

[1] Cases of boys 17 to 20 years of age, inclusive.
[2] The most serious disposition appears in selected cases.
[3] Includes 70 cases of boys under 17 years of age, 196 of males 21 years and over, 134 of males for whom age was not reported, and 19 cases of females.

A similarly close correspondence exists between the dispositions of all the cases of the 2-year period and those of the cases in the scheduled group. In both groups (Table II) nearly half the cases were discharged (48.8 per cent of the total cases and 47.6 per cent of the scheduled cases). When cases dismissed for want of prosecution, nol-prossed, and nonsuited, are added the percentage of dismissals and discharges was 61.2 among all the cases and 63.8 per cent among the scheduled group. For other dispositions the percentages in the two groups compare as follows: Held for grand jury, 14.6 per cent of the total and 12.6 per cent of the scheduled group; placed on probation, 8.9 per cent and 10.4 per cent; fined or committed to institution, 15.1 per cent and 12.6 per cent.[1] The proportion of cases disposed of in the boys' court through probation, fine, or commitment was 24 per cent in the total group and 23 per cent in the scheduled group.

[1] In the municipal court the disposition of a case is tabulated as a fine only when the fine is paid. If the fine is not paid but the defendant is committed to an institution to serve out his fine, the disposition is recorded as a commitment. The disposition of a case in this study was recorded as a fine if a fine was imposed, regardless of whether it was paid or served out in an institution, and commitments do not include sentences for nonpayment of fine. Imprisonment is not prescribed as a penalty for violation of ordinances (quasi-criminal cases), and commitments are made only for nonpayment of fine.

TABLE II.—*Disposition in boys' court, by type of offense, of all cases disposed of in the boys' court and of scheduled cases dealt with in the boys' court during 1924 and 1925*

Disposition and type of offense	Cases			
	Total disposed of		Scheduled	
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution
Total	16,475		1,499	
Disposed of	16,475	100.0	1,466	100.0
Discharged	8,046	48.8	698	47.6
Dismissed	2,048	12.4	237	16.2
For want of prosecution	1,984	12.0	228	15.6
Nol-prossed	54	.3	9	.6
Nonsuit	10	.1		
Held for grand jury	2,411	14.6	184	12.6
Boy placed on probation	1,473	8.9	153	10.4
Fine imposed	727	4.4	126	8.6
Boy committed to institution	1,770	10.7	59	4.0
House of correction	1,764	10.7	55	3.8
Other institution	6	[1]	[2]4	.3
Transferred to other court			9	.6
Pending			33	
Felony	4,716		451	
Disposed of	4,716	100.0	448	100.0
Discharged	909	19.3	113	25.2
Dismissed	1,396	29.6	150	33.5
For want of prosecution	1,366	29.0	143	31.9
Nol-prossed	30	.6	7	1.6
Held for grand jury	2,411	51.1	184	41.1
Transferred to other court			1	.2
Pending			3	
Misdemeanor	3,779		350	
Disposed of	3,779	100.0	340	100.0
Discharged	1,219	32.3	113	33.2
Dismissed	463	12.3	63	18.5
For want of prosecution	439	11.6	61	17.9
Nol-prossed	24	.6	2	.6
Boy placed on probation	985	26.1	86	25.3
Fine imposed	110	2.9	18	5.3
Boy committed to institution	1,002	26.5	58	17.1
House of correction	997	26.4	54	15.9
Other institution	5	.1	[2]4	1.2
Transferred to other court			2	.6
Pending			10	
Quasi criminal	7,980		698	
Disposed of	7,980	100.0	678	100.0
Discharged	5,918	74.2	472	69.6
Dismissed	189	2.4	24	3.5
For want of prosecution	179	2.2	24	3.5
Nonsuit	10	.1		
Boy placed on probation	488	6.1	67	9.9
Fine imposed	617	7.7	108	15.9
Boy committed to institution	768	9.6	1	.1
House of correction	767	9.6	1	.1
Other institution	1	[1]		
Transferred to other court			6	.9
Pending			20	

[1] Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.
[2] Three boys were committed to the reformatory and one to the county jail.

APPENDIX B.—EXCLUSIONS

As it was desired to limit this study to boys 17 to 20 years of age other cases were eliminated. The other cases heard in this court were those in which older persons or girls above juvenile-court age were involved in offenses with boys 17 to 20, some cases of boys just over 21, and of boys under 17 which were brought to the court by mistake, and cases of boys for whom age was not reported. Of these types of cases 419 were excluded—19 because the defendants were girls and the rest because, according to the social-service records, the defendants were boys under 17 years of age (70), males of 21 years or over (196), or males whose age was not reported (134). (Table I.) There were left 1,080 cases in which boys reported as being 17 to 20 years of age were involved. Frequently a number of charges relating to the same offense were made against one boy on the same day. Each charge was given a different number on the docket. Usually, however, all but one of the charges were dismissed, and final judgment was pronounced in regard to only one. That is, such cases were treated by the court as one offense, as is the procedure in most courts and in standard court statistics.[2] In the Children's Bureau study, therefore, the charge given the most serious disposition was selected. This process of elimination reduced the group selected for special study to 972 cases.

The same boy sometimes appeared on several occasions and for several offenses in the selected-group cases. For information relating to boys rather than to cases it was necessary to select one of these cases, and the offense occurring last was arbitrarily chosen. This gave a group of 909 boys. Of these boys 849 were represented by only one case, and 60 were represented by two or more cases dealt with on different dates. This count of "repeaters," however, does not approximate the number that would be found if the cases were traced through the two years, 1924 and 1925. It is merely the number found in studying the first 65 cases dealt with in each month of the two years.

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[2] "A defendant who is charged with several offenses should be counted only once, and for that offense the prosecution of which was carried farthest; or the most serious if the defendant is convicted of more than one offense. A conviction should always be recorded in preference to an acquittal." Instructions for Compiling Criminal Statistics, p. 46. U. S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, 1927.

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